The Outlook

JUNE 23, 1915

Offices, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York

THE CHICAGO CAR STRIKE

The unavailing demand for higher wages led to the strike of fourteen thousand employees of the traction companies of Chicago, after many efforts to arbitrate the issues between them and their employers had failed. The result was the complete tie-up for two days of the surface car and elevated railway systems of Chicago; and two and a half million persons resorted to buses hastily converted from motor trucks and express wagons, and even to roller skates, for transportation.

Features which made this strike a most remarkable one were its completeness, its brevity, and its freedom from violence. It was called off as the result of the arduous efforts of Mayor Thompson to bring about a compromise just as the dawn of the third day of this industrial conflict was breaking, and not a single case of violence was traceable to the strikers. Great credit is due to Mayor Thompson, who, after working for arbitration before the strike, notified the strikers in unmistakable language that his single task thereafter would be "to guard the rights, lives, and property of the citizens of Chicago."

Before the strike had been in progress a day the City Council of Chicago passed an ordinance calculated to restrict the employment of strike-breakers, but Judge C. C. Kohlsaat, of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, promptly ordered the receiver of the Chicago and Oak Park Elevated Railroad Company, which recently went into the United States District Court for a receivership, to employ "such men as may be available" to resume operations on the road, and strike-breakers soon began to pour into Chicago from St. Louis, Cincinnati, Minneapolis, and Detroit, only to be paid off and sent back whence they came.

The three-year agreement between the companies and the employees recently expired, after the operators had frequently expressed their dissatisfaction with it. When it went into effect, it gave the men higher pay than any street-car men east of the Rocky Mountains then enjoyed, but recently in Detroit, Cleveland, and Boston higher average wage rates were adopted, and the Chicago motormen, guards, and conductors became dissatisfied. They offered to submit their demands to arbitration before striking, but were willing to accept as an umpire only Governor Dunne, ex-Mayor Harrison, or one of several other gentlemen all held by the companies to be "pro-labor" in sympathy. The companies offered to name one arbitrator, let the employees name a second, and have these two select a third, but this the employees would not do.

An all-night conference at the City Hall in which the Mayor, strike leaders, officials of the car companies, and members of the special Aldermanic Strike Committee took part, managed to find a compromise. Mayor Thompson was accepted by both sides as a third member of the Board of Arbitration, each of the sides to the controversy to appoint another member, and the men agreed to go back to work for their former wages, on the understanding that the wage question and some other points would be arbitrated, and that any changes that may be granted in wage rates will date back to June 1.

Although the strikers gave in on some points, they claim that the outcome was a victory for them. So it was. It was also a victory for the car companies, for the city officials, and for the public, in that it was a victory for the practice of dealing with disputes between labor and capital in a spirit of fairness and open-minded magnanimity.

LABOR CONDITIONS IN PENNSYLVANIA

Governor Brumbaugh, of Pennsylvania, has just signed some bills of great importance to the betterment of labor conditions in that State.

The most talked of is the series of acts establishing a plan of employers' liability and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

workmen's compensation. It comprises a modification of the Act prepared by the Pennsylvania Industrial Accidents Commission. As the State Constitution does not permit the adoption of a compulsory act, the plan is elective; an amendment to the Constitution, however, permitting the adoption of a compulsory act has been passed for the second time and goes to the people for ratification in November.

The rates of compensation are based upon fifty per cent of the wages received at the time of the accident, the maximum duration of payment being limited to five hundred weeks. The plan will probably avoid some of the difficulties of the systems operative in other States. Taken as a whole, it would seem as if the new law were a very good measure. It was one of the chief planks in the platform on which the Governor made his campaign.

A further Act removes the obstacle which has prevented coal-miners from coming under any workmen's compensation plan. The passage of all these bills will further establish the Brumbaugh prestige, already marked by the new Child Labor Law.

The Governor has also signed the Housing Bill, which also means better conditions for labor and society. The state of the congested districts of Philadelphia, where the tenements have been a menace to life, health, and morality, moved the State Legislature two years ago to pass a housing bill, which became law. It had every promise of becoming effective and efficient. In order to become so, however, it had to be enforced by appropriations from the City Councils. The Councils, controlled by the Republican ring, refused to appropriate the necessary moneys. The Court issued an order compelling the Councils to surrender the money or be in contempt of court. Under these circumstances the Republican organizations hastened a new bill through the Legislature, as a negativing substitute for the one which never had been tried. The bill was not even given a hearing and was rushed up to the Governor. It reached him during his long fight for workmen's compensation, child labor, and local option. He needed every possible vote for the measures embodying these reforms. He was thus placed in a hard position. Hence he deserved special credit for killing the bill.

In vetoing the measure the Governor suggested that those who were back of it and its opponents should get together and see if they could not agree upon a new bill. They did get together, and brought forward a new measure, which was accepted both by the reformers and the City Councils. That bill has just become law.

We are glad to record this turn of affairs in a State in which social reform has been increasingly necessary.

THE CASH REGISTER CASE

The denial by the United States Supreme Court of the Government's motion for a writ of certiorari to review the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals, reversing the judgment of guilt on the part of officials of the National Cash Register Company, which was handed down by a Federal district court in Ohio, is a severe blow to the Government's efforts for the enforcement of the criminal clauses of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law.

This case, which grew out of the conviction of Mr. John H. Patterson, President of the National Cash Register Company, and of some of his associates for a conspiracy to monopolize the cash register business by unfair and injurious methods of competition, was considered one of the strongest of the series of several which the Department of Justice has handled under the Sherman Law. In commenting on the Supreme Court's action in this case, many editorial writers profess to see in it the beginning of the end of the practical enforcement of the Sherman Law.

By sustaining the reversal of the original decision the Supreme Court apparently indorses the view that evidence was admitted that should have been excluded, and that the growth of the Cash Register Company was due, not to alleged unfair practices, but to proper advantages in owning basic patents. There is one count on which a retrial can be had, but it is a question whether such retrial will be attempted.

This decision does not necessarily mean that the "teeth of the Sherman Law" have been drawn, but, apparently, that the evidence did not show the culpability under that law which the Government alleged.

We repeat what we have often urged, that, if bad practices are to be curbed, it ought not to be by straining the word monopoly in criminal proceedings, but by giving power and effectiveness to the Federal Trade Commission for the prevention of unfairness in business.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JUDGE LINDSEY NO "SNITCHER"

Judge Lindsey, of the Juvenile Court of Denver, has had many hard fights in his career. From the beginning of his public activity he has been under the persistent attack of political opponents who found no weapon too low to use against this champion of the rights of childhood. Traps have been laid to undermine his personal reputation, his Court has suffered repeated investigation, he has been knifed in the back by political organizations on every possible occasion, and attempts have been made in the Legislature to abolish the Juvenile Court itself in an effort to reach its Judge. Now, with the aid of the District Attorney, Judge Lindsey is under fire from a new and unexpected quarter.

One of the most interesting phases of his work as a juvenile judge has been the creation of a spirit of self-respect in the boys under his charge and in creating in their minds an abiding trust in the justice of his court. Early in his work he learned that the clan loyalty of boyhood could be made one of the strongest weapons in his work of reform. The boy delinquents that come to his Court have always been encouraged to confess, but never to turn State's evidence against their partners in crime. As Judge Lindsey has phrased it, each boy "was encouraged to 'snitch' on himself and himself only." Now, strangely enough, in the latest attack upon his work in the Juvenile Court an attempt has been made to make of Judge Lindsey himself a snitcher, and to force him to violate this cardinal principle of boyhood and manhood honor by men who are technically associated with him in the furtherance of justice in the city of Denver. Here is the story of this attempt:

On a Sunday afternoon in April John Wright, an employee at the City Hall of Denver, was shot in an attempt to enter his own house. He died three days later. Before his death, however, he left a declaration to the effect that when he opened the door his wife appeared in the hallway with a gun and shot him. When the officers came to arrest her, she admitted that she had shot her husband because he was a drunken, beastly man who had repeatedly beaten her and her twelve-year-old son. She testified that her husband had returned intoxicated the night before, and, after threatening, abusing, and beating herself and her child, had left in a frenzy with a threat that he would r
next day and "clean out" the house
days after her arrest for murder her twelve-year-old son, a bright, intelligent, manly, and self-respecting boy, came forward with a statement that it was he, and not his mother, who had fired that fatal shot, and that his mother had told him to suppress that fact and lay the blame on her, since she was a consumptive and had not long to live. The District Attorney claimed that this was a frame-up and part of the plan of the defense to free Mrs. Wright. The District Attorney brought against the defendant various charges of improper conduct, which he claimed led to the trouble with her husband, instead of the drinking and gambling which she claimed was the cause. A minister, the Rev. S. G. Dorey, a friend of the Wright family, brought the boy into Judge Lindsey's Court in order that the Judge might subject him to certain psychological tests to ascertain the truth of his story. This action was agreed to by the boy's mother, his lawyer, and all others concerned.

AN IMPROPER DEMAND

This is the story of Judge Lindsey's connection with the murder of John Wright, a story which would have ended here but for Denver's District Attorney. The District Attorney has contended that Judge Lindsey sounded the truth of the boy's story and that his conclusions were in confirmation of the theories of the District Attorney as to the frame-up. Because Judge Lindsey declined to testify in the case or to divulge the results of the confidential communications made to him by the boy, the District Attorney became very much embittered. He denied that these communications were privileged. Judge Lindsey asserted that they were, that even though the boy had confessed to what the District Attorney claimed, as a judge it was not his duty or right to testify in court on this subject. Notwithstanding Judge Lindsey's claims of privilege, the District Attorney persistently sought to force him to testify. Finally, Judge Lindsey was forced into court, and on the witness stand, despite his protest, was ordered to testify or take the consequences—and such an order from the Court usually means a jail sentence. Meanwhile the case against the boy's mother was fought to a conclusion. She was finally acquitted, after the jury had divided for some

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

time on the truth of the boy's story. Following the conclusion of the trial the District Attorney indicted Judge Lindsey in the public press before the community as a protector of a murderess and as a conniver at perjury. He further made these charges under oath, and asked that Judge Lindsey be punished. Accordingly, Judge Lindsey will be brought to trial in a criminal court.

Judge Lindsey has taken his stand on the ground that to compel a juvenile judge to testify in court to statements made by a child to him under such circumstances as we have here recorded, especially where it involves the life of his own mother and where the child might be made the medium of her execution, would be detestable and outrageous. Judge Lindsey claims that his communication was of the highest privileged character. He maintains that by consenting to testify, for or against the boy, he would have jeopardized, if not destroyed, the strength of the Juvenile Court. He is fighting, therefore, to establish a precedent that such confidence cannot be disclosed in any court proceedings or in any public manner whatever. He believes that in making the fight for this principle he is working, not only for the Juvenile Court of Denver, but for the juvenile courts throughout the country. The district judge who presided at the murder trial has held such a communication not privileged, but released Judge Lindsey for the special trial on the information and complaint of the District Attorney. The outcome of this new trial will be watched with interest and concern throughout the country.

Whatever the law may be found to be—and doubtless if this preliminary trial goes against Judge Lindsey the case will be carried to the Supreme Court—certainly no one can have the slightest doubt that the principles of honor, justice, and public interest are all to be found on Judge Lindsey's side. The State which demands testimony from a man in Judge Lindsey's position is attempting to violate the sanctity of its own judicial confessional.

THE MAYO FOUNDATION

One of the most remarkable combinations of educational facilities in this country is that which has been effected between the Mayo Foundation and the State University of Minnesota. It represents an exhibition of private benevolence and public spirit of more than noteworthy proportions.

The University of Minnesota already possesses an excellent medical school which has cost the State more than a million dollars. It maintains a hospital and a dispensary at an expense of $80,000 a year. The total annual budget for medical education in Minnesota is more than $230,000.

This medical education by the State, however, has been handicapped by the lack of graduate facilities. At present the development of such facilities has proved beyond the power of the University and of the State. Into this breach, however, has come the Mayo Foundation.

The Mayo Foundation is, in brief, a gift by Dr. William J. Mayo and Dr. Charles H. Mayo of a million and a half dollars, and the use of the extensive hospital and clinical facilities which they control, to the State University for the benefit of the cause of medical education. A six-year agreement has been entered upon between the Mayo Foundation and the University of Minnesota, at the end of which, if the experiment proves successful, it is expected that the connection between the Foundation and the University will be made permanent under conditions guaranteeing complete control to the University of the endowment funds and over the appointment of all directors, teachers, investigators, and others connected with the Mayo Foundation.

Known all over the country both in and outside of the medical profession as the Mayo Brothers, these two eminent surgeons have made of the small town of Rochester, Minnesota, a great surgical center. An article by Dr. Wilfred T. Grenfell in The Outlook for June 22, 1907, described their achievement when it was comparatively unknown. To-day their great hospital has an international reputation.

In making their remarkably generous offer to the State of Minnesota the Mayo Brothers have rendered a notable service to the cause of surgery, a cause which has already benefited so largely by their technical skill and by their patient research.

FLAG DAY

June 14 was Flag Day in America. From almost every flag-pole within the dominion of the United States Old Glory fluttered, and wherever there was ground peculiarly hallowed by associations with the great deeds that have made our flag what it is to-day commemorative exercises were held. At Philadelphia the one hundred and thirty-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

eighth anniversary of the adoption of the Stars and Stripes by the Continental Congress was celebrated in the house of Betsy Ross, who made the first flag. At Independence Hall the Louisiana State flag was raised over the old State House in commemoration of the fiftieth year of internal peace since the close of the Civil War.

At Washington President Wilson, who was the principal speaker in the Flag Day exercises in that city, declared that "there are no days of special patriotism. There are no days when you should be more patriotic than on other days. . . . I am sorry that you do not wear a little flag of the Union every day instead of some days, and I can only ask you, if you lose the physical emblem, to be sure that you wear it in your heart, and the heart of America shall interpret the heart of the world."

But it was in the schools that the flag was most highly honored. From the Philippines to Maine the school-children gathered about the National emblem to pledge to it their allegiance. In many of the schools of New York State, and probably elsewhere, was read the splendid Flag Day address delivered last year by Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, to the clerks of the Interior Department. Here is part of it. The flag is speaking:

Let me tell you who I am. The work that we do is the making of the real flag. I am not the flag, not at all. I am but its shadow. I am whatever you make me, nothing more. I am your belief in yourself, your dream of what a people may become. I live a changing life, a life of moods and passions, of heart-breaks and tired muscles. Sometimes I am strong with pride, when men do an honest work, fitting the rails together truly. Sometimes I droop, for then purpose has gone from me, and cynically I play the coward. Sometimes I am loud, garish, and full of that ego that blasts judgment. But always I am all that you hope to be and have the courage to try for.

I am song and fear, struggle and panic, and ennobling hope. I am the day's work of the weakest man and the largest dream of the most daring. I am the Constitution and the courts, statutes and statute-makers, soldier and dreadnought, drayman and street-sweep, cook, counselor, and clerk. I am the battle of yesterday and the mistake of to-morrow. I am the mystery of the men who do without knowing why. I am the clutch of an idea and the reasoned purpose of resolution. I am no more than what you believe me to be, and I am all that you believe I can be. I am what you make me, nothing more. I swing before your eyes as a bright gleam of color, a symbol of yourself, the pictured suggestion of that big thing which makes this Nation. My stars and my stripes are your dreams and your labors. They are bright with cheer, brilliant with courage, firm with faith, because you have made them so out of your hearts, for you are the makers of the flag, and it is well that you glory in the making.

DR. DERNBURG

Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, late German Secretary of State for the Colonies and a member of the Prussian upper house, has just sailed from the United States for Europe, by the Norwegian steamer Bergensfjord.

Dr. Dernburg's long sojourn in America has been noteworthy. Ostensibly a private citizen, he has been universally believed to be an agent of the German Government. This was entirely natural. The high office which Dr. Dernburg formerly filled and the character of some of his utterances have pointed to no other conclusion. Dr. Dernburg has spoken in this country in an effort to influence and modify American sentiment concerning many phases of the war. For instance, he has given us the benefit of his views concerning neutrality and the shipment of munitions of war, concerning gas-charged bombs, concerning submarine warfare, concerning the diplomatic history of the war, concerning the retention of Belgium by Germany, and concerning the possible close of the war.

Dr. Dernburg's attempts to mold public opinion in this country in favor of Germany, and especially his most recent remarks concerning the Lusitania atrocity, have caused much popular resentment. Some of this resentment, we think, has been unjustified. The whole German propaganda, however, as inspired by him, has been, we believe, an element in the manufacture of sympathy for Germany's opponents.

HOW THE FIGHTING GOES

Temporarily checked during the first days of the week, the German offensive that has cleared the Carpathians and smothered Slavic resistance in Przemysl has picked up its momentum and as this is written is only thirty-seven miles from Lemberg, the keystone of Galicia.

Two important towns have fallen to the Austro-Germans—Stanislau, in southeastern Galicia, on the railway that connects the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

German right with Przemysl, and Mosciska, a short ride out of Przemysl, on the main line into Lemberg. It is reported that General Mackensen has promised the Kaiser to take the Galician capital before July 1. Whether he will do it or not depends largely on the success or failure of the Russian left to hold its position on the Dniester River, south of Lemberg. If the Teutons can break down this bulwark, they may roll up the whole left flank of the Czar's army. But as long as this wing holds it will be dangerous for the forces under Mackensen to go ahead along the short, straight line from Mosciska to Lemberg.

Of the operations on all the battle-fronts of the war the proceedings about the Dardanelles are most heavily screened by the censor. It is several days since any reports with the earmarks of reliability have come out in regard to the fighting on the Gallipoli Peninsula, and the persistent rumor that the British battle-ship Agamemnon was sunk in the straits several weeks ago has been denied by the British War Office. It must be remembered, however, that this is the same War Office that still refuses to admit the sinking of the Audacious. If the Agamemnon has been lost she will be sorely missed by the Allies. Launched in 1906, she was bigger, younger, and more powerful than any of the other six battle-ships which the Allies have lost at the German-guided hands of the Turk.

The briskest fighting in the western theater lately has centered around Arras and Lens and has been almost a draw, the French having perhaps a slight advantage. The continued failure of any serious offensive by the Allies to develop in the west has become decidedly discouraging to the partisans of the French, British, and Belgians. While the Teutons are chastising the Russians with their right hand, their left is still strong enough to hold off the Belgians, British, and French.

The Italians are furnishing the only palpable encouragement for opponents of Germany and Austria. While their attack seems to be slackening a bit in the Trentino, where the Austrians are at last reported to be coming forward in force to meet their opponents on the line from Riva to Rovereto, the Trieste campaign of King Victor Emmanuel's generals is developing most encouragingly. The capture of Monfalcone, the most illustrious feat of Italian arms thus far, largely cuts off Trieste from Gorizia, severs all railway communication from Gradisca to Trieste, and brings that unredeemed city within range of the largest siege guns of the Italians ashore. Heavy fighting is reported at Tolmino, and if that place falls the Latins will have broken the backbone of Teutonic opposition along the entire line of the Isonzo from Caporetto to the sea. This line, about one hundred and fifty miles in length, is Austria's strongest defense of Trieste, and if it breaks the Italians will be well on their way to the realization of their dreams of Italy redeemed.

RUMANIA AND GREECE

The political news of the war is as important as any purely military reports. The return to power of the war party of ex-Premier Venizelos in the general election in Greece makes it more than an even chance that Greece will join the Allies in the not distant future. Venizelos, it will be remembered, was retired by the opposition of King Constantine to the Premier's avowed advocacy of war against Turkey and her allies. In these days of democracy, when crowns sit none too easy on monarchs' heads, it is not likely that the Greek King will attempt to thwart further the demand of the majority of his subjects for intervention.

A despatch to the usually reliable Italian newspaper the "Giornale d'Italia" of Rome has it that the *entente* Powers have agreed to the demands of Rumania and that the participation of Rumania in the war is imminent.

The simultaneous belligerency of Greece and Rumania would have a greater influence on the fortunes of the war than even the entrance of Italy. The aid of Greece would be tremendous to the Allies striving for Constantinople, and in fact the participation of Constantine's kingdom would mean virtually the beginning of the end for Turkey. On the other hand, the declaration of war by Rumania would sound much like a death-knell to Austria-Hungary, for the Balkan State faces the Dual Monarchy across three hundred and seventy-five miles of border, and pressure on this front, with the weight that Russia, Italy, Servia, and France are exerting on other sides, would seem to be enough to crack the shell of Austrian resistance.

MAGNA CHARTA AND WATERLOO

On June 15, 1215, at Runnymede, the barons, the leaders of the people of England,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

forced the King of England to sign a charter conceding certain rights to them.

On June 18, 1815, the allied nations at Waterloo ended Napoleon's attempt to impose an autocratic and militarist empire upon Europe.

Magna Charta did not do everything for England. The Petition of Right was still to come, and, later, the overthrow of the theory that the king rules by divine right. In France the Declaration of the Rights of Man was still to come, and in Italy the revolution at Milan, the advance guard of what was to follow there and elsewhere in the affirmation of the rights of democracy.

And now, when the forces of autocracy and democracy are facing each other on many a battlefield of Europe, it is well to recall that just seven hundred years ago the English barons struck the first blow for freedom, and that just a hundred years ago England, Holland, and Prussia struck at the power which would have dominated Europe.

The significance of the Magna Charta centenary at this time was effectively indicated by Elihu Root, former Secretary of State, at a meeting at Albany, in which, holding up the German Government of to-day as a foe of human liberty, he said :

"The first theory of the ancient republics, that the state is all in all and the individual derives his rights as a member, is the principle which was applied in Belgium. It is the principle which was applied to the Lusitania. Its logical and inevitable result is that the state is free from those rules of morality by which individual men are bound.

"The other, asserted in the Great Charter, by logical and inevitable result, binds the state by the rules of morality which the individual recognizes, and the supremacy of that rule of right, governing all men and all states and powers, is the hope of mankind.

"The assertion of that great and cardinal principle seven hundred years ago we celebrate to-night as the greatest of all events in the political development of modern liberty."

VAUDEVILLE IN MEXICO

The election of another President was part of the governmental vaudeville offered by Mexico during the week. Roque Gonzales Garza, head of the Villa-Zapata government in Mexico City, was deposed by the convention in session there, and Lagos Chazaro put in his place. Chazaro, who was Governor of the State of Vera Cruz at one time under President Madero, is considered a devout Zapatista, and his elevation to the Presidency was a move that has been expected since a coolness became noticeable between the Chihuahua chieftain and the Morelos guerrilla.

More important than the political whim which put a new puppet in the Presidential palace at Mexico City was the development of the attitudes of Carranza and Villa as a result of President Wilson's stand of June 2, when he called upon the warring factions to settle their differences and establish peace.

The replies of Villa and Carranza to the President's communication are just what one who knows them would have expected of them. Villa's attitude, as usual, is more reasonable than Carranza's. In a telegram to the "First Chief" Villa urged that "we should seek means that would permit the reunion and reorganization of the Constitutionalist party, even though it be indispensable to make sacrifices of self-esteem." With the short-sighted stubbornness that has been all along characteristic of him, Carranza's reply to this overture was an invitation for all the factions opposed to him to lay down their arms and recognize his leadership.

Villa's reply to the Wilson note is devoted mainly to a justification of his break with Carranza. He blames the obstinacy of the old man from Coahuila for the failure of all attempts at reconciliation between them.

Carranza's reply to the American pronunciamento is a bid for recognition, pure and simple. He renews the usual promises of domestic reforms and of safety for the lives and property of foreigners if he is recognized, and says that he should be given this honor by the "governments of other nations . . . because the Constitutionalist Government is now actually in definite possession of sovereignty, and the legitimate exercise of sovereignty is the essential condition which should be taken into account when deciding upon the recognition of a government."

Carranza's claims are presumptuous and much exaggerated. Zapata still holds Mexico City, while Villa, with much of central and most of northern Mexico in his power, is deadlocked with Carranza's best general, Alvaro Obregon, at Leon in Jalisco. The report of General Obregon's death was false, but he has been badly wounded, and it may

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be several days or weeks before he is again fit for duty.

THE COMMENCEMENT SEASON

In the present Commencement season the colleges founded on and definitely committed to Christianity will hear many ringing reaffirmations of the power of Christianity to save the world from a repetition of the tragedy of war brought on by greed and ambition.

Dr. Hibben at Princeton has already spoken in no uncertain tones in regard to the present crisis. He recalled the point of view of those who believe that war is normal and inevitable and must be perpetual—"the great national prophylactic." He asked whether the way of war is the only way to realize a people's destiny. "Is it necessary to descend into hell before we can begin to climb the steep ascent of heaven?" The older generation, he said, cannot answer that question; it must be answered by the younger generation, with whom it is possible to prove that the kind of vigor which comes through war may be developed in peace. "Peace," he said, "is a situation, an external setting, the guarantee of a free exercise of all our powers, without fear of the menace or intrusion of foreign foe to challenge or control that freedom; . . . it is the opportunity which man may nobly use or shamefully abuse." No nation, he said, had ever been conquered from without unless there had been weakness within. He affirmed his belief that through the darkness which now prevails there is brighter light ahead. Christianity is approaching its supreme test. It rests on the coming generation to restore to the law and love of Christ their ancient power.

Men of National reputation on whom Princeton bestowed honorary degrees were Thomas A. Edison, the inventor; Myron T. Herrick, American Ambassador to France at the outbreak of the war; George W. Goethals, Chief Engineer in final charge of building the Panama Canal and first Governor of the Panama Canal Zone; Theodore N. Vail, President of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and pioneer organizer of the railway mail service of the United States; and Franz Kneisel, eminent musician and leader of the Kneisel Quartette.

The Rev. Dr. Percy S. Grant, of New York, speaking at the College of the City of New York, which is the capstone of the city's public educational structure, expressed his belief that at present the educated man thinks of his education as a private advantage rather than a public asset, called attention to the fact that graduates of colleges sometimes develop into party bosses, and declared that the successful man is the dangerous man in a democracy, which, in his judgment, is safer in the hands of its proletariat and in listening to their demands than to the demands of the successful classes. Education in this country, he said, is a source of inequality. Many of his auditors must have felt that Dr. Grant had lost his perspective when he went on to say that the college degree, fraternity, alumni association, and academic dress create differences and place the college-educated man upon a plane of advantage that is undemocratic. There are colleges, it is true, in which there are many undemocratic elements, but such sweeping criticism defeats its own ends.

THE SHAW PLAYS IN NEW YORK

Seven plays by George Bernard Shaw in one season is a record made in New York this year. Only Shakespeare has done as much, which lends color to Mr. Shaw's typically Shavian assertion that he can equal and sometimes surpass the immortal bard in the business of playwriting. As a money maker the four managers who produced the Shaw plays this year would probably put him in the lead.

Mrs. Patrick Campbell opened the season in October with "Pygmalion," which The Outlook reviewed at that time.

Next came Granville Barker, at the persuasion of the Drama Society, from London to allow New York to judge of his ultra-modern methods of play-giving. He led off with "Androcles and the Lion," in which Shaw sends the early Christian martyrs to the lions singing as defiantly as any band of present-day agitators. For pietistic reasons the play was practically a failure in England. Here more than a thousand members of the Drama Society pronounced it the best of twelve plays given in New York this year. It received almost as many votes for first place as the next two plays together, while "Pygmalion" won second place.

Mr. Barker's success was so immediate that he followed with "The Doctor's Dilemma." This time the medical profession is the iconoclast's target. Mr. Shaw handles the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

doctors so roughly that one shudders at his fate if sickness ever delivers him into their hands. Nevertheless, Mr. Barker scored again. Only the necessity for vacating Wallack's old theater forced Mr. Barker to close his adventurous and triumphant season.

Eleven years ago Arnold Daly, the actor, and G. B. S., as fond admirers like to familiarize the playwright, were in the happy relation of patron and pupil. Mr. Shaw found that only Daly could rightly interpret him. Now he will have none of him. In spite of this, Mr. Daly has braved the Shavian wrath and reproduced in New York this spring three of Shaw's comedies. Years ago "You Never Can Tell" won instant *réclame* by its opening scene between dentist and patient. Its twentieth-century *enfants-terribles* are as amusing now as when the century was just begun. To this was added "Arms and the Man," perhaps because any war play of any date now seems certain to please. It is doubtful whether its references to "those wretched Servians" would get past the censor in England to-day. Certainly the fun it makes of the professional soldier would never please the recruiting sergeant. However, if the rumor be true that no less than five war plays are now being prepared for next year's consumption, they must go far to lead "Arms and the Man" in the public's favor.

CANDIDA AGAIN

Four times since 1904 Arnold Daly has given "Candida" in New York. The part of Marchbanks, the poet, was his first great opportunity, and with each succeeding production he has added something to its sincerity and power. Eleven years ago it was the most bitterly discussed play of the year. The critical public saw in it a challenge to Nora of "The Doll's House." For popular appeal there is little comparison. On the first night of "Candida's" revival this year the curtain rose on a queue of would-be patrons stretching from box-office to street. Ibsen's audiences were never so insistent.

The seventh and last of the Shaw plays this year was an uncommon production of "Captain Brassbound's Conversion," given six times at the Neighborhood Playhouse on Grand Street. This is the little theater given to the East Side for its very own. The Henry Street Settlement has long had its company of players drawn from the Italians and Hebrews of Little Italy and the Ghetto, which is its neighborhood. Hence the theater's name. Since its opening last fall the beauty of the building and the productions chosen for it have been the talk of the town. So much had been printed of the Playhouse that a nightly crowd of uptown curiosity-seekers bid fair to oust the rightful audiences from their seats. When "Captain Brassbound" was given, they came from Columbia and Morningside, from Gramercy Park and Washington Square, to do homage to Shaw, the idol of the "highbrows," or, as they call themselves, the "intellectuals."

FROM FARM TO TABLE BY AUTOMOBILE

By readjusting established rural delivery routes and by introducing some of the principles of scientific management in this branch of the Post-Office Department, Postmaster-General Burleson saved $511,262 in operating expenses from April 1 to May 29. This money was devoted to the establishment of new routes and to the extension of existing ones, so that 87,850 additional families, or approximately 441,750 additional individuals, are now reached by Uncle Sam's rural mail carriers.

In accordance with the resolution of Congress on March 3 last, the familiar horse and buggy of R. F. D. routes will soon be supplanted by a chugging automobile on routes where there is enough business to warrant the change. Some romantic "city folks" summer-boarding in the country will miss the plodding russet horse and rattling, dusty buggy, whose driver always had time for loquacious lingering over the reins by the painted tin box mounted on a post at the roadside; but the quaint and picturesque must give way before the modern and efficient.

The motor postman will serve routes not less than fifty miles in length, and the employment of these modern Mercuries will bring the world's news fresh to many families who have heretofore had to take it stale. The appropriation for this motor service will be available on July 1, and the first of the power-driven rural mail wagons will take the road a month later.

One valuable result of the installation of this modern service will be the tapping of rich truck-growing areas within twenty-five miles of the cities which by the motor routes will get parcel post rates on packages over one pound in weight from twenty to forty per cent cheaper than heretofore. This, the Post-Office Department believes, will mean an

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"immediate stimulation of local parcel post exchange, especially of the farm-to-table service."

THE SCANDAL AT ANNAPOLIS

It is a pretty kettle of fish that has been stirring at the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis. The standard of honor among the "officers and gentlemen" who are some day to defend the dignity and reputation of the United States on the sea is pathetically low, if there is truth in one-half the stories alleging cheating in the recent annual examinations at the Naval Academy.

Already the Court of Inquiry appointed by Secretary Daniels has recommended the dismissal of seven midshipmen for "cribbing" in the examinations, and apparently the corrupting canker of dishonesty has eaten far into the student body.

The cheating was discovered in the examinations in French and Spanish. Advance copies of the examination papers in these subjects were found in the handwriting of one of the midshipmen, and it developed that more than a hundred students had had access to this "good dope."

The midshipman whom Rear-Admiral William F. Fullam, Superintendent of the Naval Academy, accused of being the man mainly responsible for the circulation of this "dope" said it had been mailed to him from an anonymous source, but the Board of Inquiry has reached the conclusion that the papers were stolen from the rooms of the French and Spanish Departments. There are several ugly rumors afloat, one to the effect that a midshipman attempted to bribe an employee who mimeographed some of the examination papers, another to the effect that an instructor aided the midshipmen in getting advance knowledge of the nature of certain examinations.

There must be fire beneath all this noisome smoke.

Unwholesome as the morals of some of the students appear to be, however, there is apparently a need of reform of some of the regulations of the Academy. No such scandal as this one ever developed when the honor system was in use at Annapolis a few years ago. Critics of certain features of the present régime at Annapolis declare with apparent justice that the discipline of the institution has grown unbearably severe, until there are a score of regulations "which seem to belong rather to a young ladies' boarding-school than to a corps of officers well on towards maturity." It is to be hoped that the Board of Inquiry will look into such allegations as these, which have been frequently made from responsible sources, as well as the more immediate matters which the commission was formed to investigate.

THE SEAMEN'S BILL AND AMERICAN SHIPPING

Prophecies as to the effect of the La Follette Seamen's Bill upon the growth of an American merchant marine are already coming true.

It will be remembered that this bill, in the passage of which the Seamen's Union was actively interested, goes further than any existing laws either in this country or abroad in the regulation of the conduct and control of ships at sea. It is in many ways a drastic tenement-house law of the ocean, and a law which contains many humane requirements that are highly to be commended. If, however, a tenement-house law on land should prove to be so drastic and unreasonable in form that all the owners of buildings under its regulations were forced to tear them down and move into a neighboring State, there are not many who would regard such a law as wisely drawn. Whether or not on the sea a similar destiny is in store for our merchant marine it is perhaps too early to say. Evidence to the effect, however, that the Seamen's Law may have improved out of existence the jobs of many of our American sailors is not wanting.

Mr. Robert Dollar, of San Francisco, who owns nine vessels built in American ship-yards, most of which were transferred to American registry upon the outbreak of the European war, has announced that he expects to put his vessels under the Chinese flag when the Seamen's Law goes into effect in next November. The Pacific Mail, operating ships to China and Australia, is intending, it has been announced, to take on no new business after August 1, and to give up its present trade routes when the La Follette measure goes into effect. It is also reported in the New York "Evening Post" that the Great Northern liner Minnesota will be withdrawn from Oriental commerce. In this same paper Mr. Robert Dollar is reported as saying that he was attending a meeting of Japanese business men in Japan when the news of the passage of the La Follette Bill was received. He said the news occasioned an enthusiastic

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

demonstration in the meeting, because the Japanese believe that this legislation leaves them free to capture the trade of the Pacific.

All this is, of course, aside from the expected difficulties over those stipulations in the bill by which the President is "requested and directed" to give notice to all governments with which we have treaties in conflict with any provision of the Act that all conflicting parts of such treaties will terminate as soon as the periods of notice required by the treaties expire. As ex-Senator Burton said at the time when the bill was under discussion, "no one can suppose for a moment that such a demand can be made without retaliation, or at least a demand for very substantial concessions in return."

The La Follette measure will become a pressing issue for the next Congress to bring to a final and more satisfactory conclusion.

AGAINST MILITANCY

The National Woman Suffrage Association at its recent mid-year conference in Chicago was eminently wise from a strategic point of view in its outspoken condemnation of militancy. Perhaps nothing could arrest the movement for the extension of the suffrage to women so speedily and so effectively as the introduction of militant methods in this country.

Whatever justification ardent suffragists may claim for militant methods in England, there is no possible justification for their introduction here. The field is absolutely open to any group of people representing any political principle; it is only necessary to convince enough American citizens that the principle is right to secure its victory at the polls.

The occasion for the pronouncement was the recent attempt of two young women to secure a hearing from the President while he was in this city reviewing the fleet. The attempt to force on the President any issue save that which is now before the country is unpardonable; and any policy of heckling him will arouse the keenest resentment of all sane-minded women as well as men.

In such a crisis as this the women who attempt to force the suffrage issue will show a lack not only of political sagacity which would disqualify them for political action, but a lack of ability to see straight and to think straight. There is but one thing now before the country; everything else must give way to it.

THE EMPTY HOUSE

Men and women have been pouring out their vitality since this century began and in the half-century before with such prodigality and in so many ways that they have reversed Wordsworth's famous dictum, "The world is too much with us." Many of us have gone so completely out of ourselves that there is no one left at home; the doors and windows stand open, but the house is empty. The winds call to us, the birds sing for us, the stars rise and set in the inaudible song which they sang together at the beginning, Nature waits for us at the door to lead us to places of silence and rest; but we see nothing, hear nothing, for we are far from the house.

We are doing a thousand things that are well worth the doing; we travel to the ends of the earth and set our hands to noble tasks; but we have answered so many calls from the fields near and far that there is no longer for some of us any home-keeping. Our hands are so busy that our hearts are tired; our loins are always girded for journeys, our feet are set in so many ways of action that we have no time for shrines and quiet vigils of the spirit.

Many of us have so completely gone out of ourselves into a thousand activities that we have let the fire on the hearth go out, and when night falls and we are spent and weary there is no longer a house of rest for us; like those unhappy men and women who have overstrained their nerves, we go on with hectic, feverish energy long after our working power is gone; we have become automatic and mechanical in our good works instead of being spontaneous, vital, radiating strength and hope. He who came to serve men and to give himself in life and death wholly for men often withdrew himself from his fellows and sought renewal and refreshment of spirit in lonely places. They who work greatly must rest greatly; the vision grows dim and fades when the task takes all the time and strength. It is significant that the prophets often came suddenly out of solitude and as suddenly returned to it.

Bishop Hall, who lived in a stirring time like our own, when great tides of action swept the world, gave some wise counsel for those who are tempted to live wholly outside themselves:

> A man need not care for more knowledge than to know himself; he needs no more pleasure than to content himself; no more victory than to overcome himself; no more riches than

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to enjoy himself. What fools are they that seek to know all other things and are strangers in themselves; . . . that seek to vanquish kingdoms and countries when they are not masters of themselves; that have no hold on their own hearts, yet seek to be possessed of all outward commodities! Go home to thyself first, vain heart; and when thou hast made sure work there in knowing, contenting, overcoming, enjoying thyself, spend all the superfluity of thy time and labor upon others.

ON A BARBLESS HOOK

There are almost as many theories about fishing as there are fish and fishermen. Every other time they are all wrong. Even the humble catfish is not unknown to temperament, frequently biting at a bait it should not have bitten and leaving unbitten the bait which, according to all the rules for securing a dinner from a mud hole, it should have regarded as a most succulent repast.

When it comes to fish still higher in the social scale, all the lore that has come down to us from the days of the gentle abbess is at times null, void, and of no consequence save as a theme for stories of what might have been. Trout, for instance, according to the common law of angling, are addicted to dark flies on bright days and bright flies on dark days. What is there is to be said, therefore, for the judgment, the common sense, or the eyesight of a three-quarter pound fish of our acquaintance who rose in a foot and a half of crystal water and seized avidly upon a large "white miller," the time being high noon and not a cloud in the sky? As long as dry-fly fishermen and their elder and wetter brethren argue for their respective crafts, and as long as there be men who cast upstream and men who cast down (and are, it is to be suspected, therefore the more often cast down), the mystery of fishing will remain. That is why there will always be fishermen in a world in which there are waters to fish.

Yet in the unending discussion of the art one fact is as firmly established as any connected with life upon our planet. It is that fish are not all there is to fishing. We do not commend an artist for the number of square yards of canvas which he has covered with paint, nor do we any longer commend the fisherman for the number of trophies preserved in his creel. What he catches in his mind is a vastly more important event than what he finally lays upon the altar of his frying-pan. In the much-fished waters of our longer-settled regions the latter may well represent all the fish that have fallen to the angler's share, but America is blest with many wild waters in which a day's fishing procures many times more than a day's supply of food. For those who are fortunate enough to know from personal contact these lands of piscatorial plenty The Outlook has a proposition to offer. It is the barbless hook.

Only the thickest-witted of those who now go fishing take from the water more trout than they can eat. The laws of common sense, not to mention the more concretely effective laws of our several States, declare that the miser of fish is no friend of mankind. Many fish, however, though carefully removed from the common hook of commerce, are returned to their native element destined for an early as well as a watery grave. Even careful fingers break through the protecting slime that guards each fish from fungus diseases, or else the unpleasant barb on even a proper-sized hook has injured the fish beyond the repair of nature.

Now fishing of the finer kind is, of course, an art. The pleasure it gives is the pleasure of a skillful task well accomplished. It is in some measure a contest between intellect and instinct fought out under what may be called a gentleman's agreement not to take an unfair advantage of the lowlier mind. Intellect voluntarily handicaps itself by declining to use all the measures of destruction within its reach. The use of the barbless hook is only another step forward in the promulgation of such necessarily one-sided Hague conventions between man and fish-kind.

This additional convention is really not half so much a handicap as at first may be supposed. Even a moderately skillful fisherman who has adopted the barbless hook finds almost as many fish within his creel as, one is almost tempted to say, his barb-erous brother. Furthermore, the barbless hook furnishes an automatic record of the fisherman's mistakes, for an instant's slacking of the line and the fish is off. It teaches good fishing in the letter as well as in the spirit of the game. It means both conservation of fish and conservation of good fellowship. It represents one more nice advance in a sport which, in the view of its followers, has always deserved the guardianship of a tenth muse.

Break the barbs from your hooks. At any rate you will find them more inviting objects to step upon, even if they prove more difficult instruments with which to fish.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL SECURITY AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE

I—AMERICA THE UNREADY

THE sinking of the Lusitania has changed the question of military preparedness from a theory to a condition.

Last week this question of preparedness became a matter for acute discussion on at least four occasions:

On Monday there was published a statement, signed by a number of college presidents, entitled "A Peace Programme for Trying Times," and issued by the American League to Limit Armaments.

On Monday and Tuesday there were held in the city of New York a series of meetings under the auspices of the National Security League, and under the auspices of the same organization an exhibit of munitions of war.

On Tuesday evening, at Cooper Union, New York City, there was held, under the auspices of the Women's Peace Party, a meeting in protest against military preparation.

On Thursday there was submitted to a conference in Philadelphia a resolution or outline of proposals for a league of great nations, or league of peace, of which the following is the original form:

It is desirable for the United States to join a league of all the great nations binding the signatories to the following:

First—All justiciable questions arising between the signatory Powers not settled by negotiations shall be submitted to a judicial tribunal for hearing and judgment both upon the merits and upon any issue as to its jurisdiction of the question.

Second—All non-justiciable questions arising between the signatories and not settled by negotiation shall be submitted to a council of conciliation for hearing, consideration, and recommendation.

Third—The signatory Powers shall jointly use their military forces to prevent any one of their number from going to war or committing acts of hostility against another of the signatories before any question arising shall be submitted as provided in the foregoing.

Fourth—Conference between the signatory Powers shall be held from time to time to formulate and codify rules of international law which, unless some signatory shall signify its dissent within a stated period, shall thereafter govern in the decisions of the judicial tribunal mentioned in One.

The relation of this outline of proposals to the question of preparedness is obvious when it is recognized that the United States could not agree to use jointly with others its military forces if it has not prepared military forces to use.

The truth of Washington's repeated injunction to prepare against war and his solicitude that the military art might not be lost from the American Nation is being brought home to the country with increasing force. "There is a rank due to the United States among nations," he said once in a speech to Congress, "which will be withheld, if not hopelessly lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it. If we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war." How far we have departed from following his injunction every one who has the slightest technical knowledge of our military history knows only too well. As General Leonard Wood stated before the Congressional Military Committee: "Never in our history have we been thoroughly prepared for war. To employ untrained personnel is always dangerous and very expensive. In the Revolution we used 231,771 regulars and 164,007 militia and volunteers against England's 150,605. In the War of 1812 we had 56,052 regulars and 471,622 militia against English and Canadian forces of only about 55,000. In the Mexican War 31,024 regulars and 73,532 militia were required to conquer about 46,000 Mexicans. In the Civil War the United States employed 67,000 regulars and 2,605,341 militia and volunteers to defeat about a million Confederates." To those familiar with the details of the battles with Mexico in which trained troops were used and of the brilliant success of American arms under such conditions, and to those who were likewise familiar with the true inwardness of such struggles as took place at Bull Run in our Civil War, these figures seem doubly cause for concern.

It is likewise to be noted that, with the growing realization of these facts forced upon us by the international complication which confronts us and the vicarious education which

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

we are receiving from the battlefields of Europe, there has not been the slightest evidence of jingoism manifested in the press or in the statements of our public men, nor is there the slightest indication either in army circles or in organs of civilian opinion that the United States is in the slightest danger of departing from the time-honored traditions of its civil government.

THE LEAGUE TO LIMIT ARMAMENTS

Despite this, however, the efforts that are being made to educate the American people in the needs of the present hour are being met by no small number of men and women claiming a monopoly of the desire for peace who apparently believe that their opponents are actuated solely by a desire to increase the profits of "the armor trust" and to plunge the country into instant war. President Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia, still repeats, "When we are told in terms of most vivid eloquence that we must be prepared for war, I ask for what war, and for war with whom?" The American League to Limit Armaments, in their communication to President Wilson signed by the heads of some fifty-eight American colleges, presents the following "peace programme for trying times:"

1. Ask those who would say that the peace movement is a failure if the war movement is a success. Ask them if a greater failure than war could possibly be imagined. Tell them to try the peace movement before they denounce it as a failure.

2. Set aside preferences for this, that, or the other general peace policy and work now for a constructive programme adapted to the needs of the moment, such as the immediate entertainment at Washington of a league of neutral nations which could more forcefully assert our and all other neutral rights than many army corps and battle-ships. A few more cannon and rifles would scarcely be heard in the present European uproar. The united voice of the neutrals would be heard in every European capital and in every corner of the world, and would command instant attention and respect.

3. Finally, in any event, stand loyally by the President in his undoubted purpose to adjust the present difficulties without resort to war unless all conceivable peaceful methods fail absolutely.

The main issue for which the League to Limit Armaments contends is a world-wide effort for the restriction of all armaments after the present war, and since the Lusitania massacre it has advocated United States leadership in forming a league of neutral nations with non-intercourse as its weapon in dealing with Germany if diplomatic interchanges fail. To the first of the queries to which the League desires an answer, it may be said that a society in which men placed physical comfort above law and morality would be a greater failure than a world at war. A civilization which left Belgium undefended would be nearer barbarism than the civilization which has attempted to drive out the invaders of Belgian soil with cannon and sword.

THE NATIONAL SECURITY LEAGUE

In contrast to the activities of the League to Limit Armaments, the National Security League has been taking very active steps in the education of the United States as to its military needs. This organization has already been described in the pages of The Outlook and its work and purpose heartily commended. Under the auspices of this society, as we have already said, a graphic display of our military shortcomings was exhibited at the Hotel Astor, and a large mass-meeting held in Carnegie Hall, a meeting addressed by both Democrats and Republicans in favor of its programme. Among the speakers were Alton B. Parker, once candidate for the Presidency; Dr. Lyman Abbott; Henry L. Stimson and Jacob M. Dickinson, Secretaries of War under President Taft; and Charles J. Bonaparte, who served both as Secretary of the Navy and as Attorney-General under President Roosevelt. This meeting was held as part of a two days' "Peace and Preparation Conference," and attended by delegates and speakers from all over the country. To indicate a step to secure adequate preparation, Dr. Abbott read and indorsed in substance a letter he had received advocating the formation of a council composed of the President, Secretary of State, Secretaries of War and Navy, Chairmen of the Congressional Committees on Foreign Relations, Appropriations, Naval Affairs and Military Affairs, Chief of Staff of the Army, President of the Army War College, an Admiral who has commanded a fleet, and the President of the Naval War College, a council which should be intrusted with all details of preparedness and would make its recommendations to Congress with the weight of expert authority. Such a council would, of course, do away

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with a great deal of the present political interferences with the affairs of the army and navy. It would place the security of the country above the security of the political fences of individual Congressmen. Ex-Secretary Stimson, in a remarkably effective address, took the position that our country's chief danger from war was due to the fact that it "had so acted in the past as to give good reason for believing that we really do not mean to protect our rights." He asked:

Is there a man who doubts that President Wilson's note to Germany would receive more attention if it were known that our navy was in readiness and that our "free people," in the language of Washington, were "disciplined and trained in arms"?

We are not concerned as a nation in the origin or causes of the war; we are now vitally interested in its results. We cannot stand by and see centuries of progress swept into the dust heap without vital injury to our National rights. From the Consolato del Mar—that maritime code which regulated sea trade in the Middle Ages—until to-day it has been beyond dispute that the lives of neutral passengers, even on the merchantmen of one's enemy, must be protected.

This right of our neutral citizens, sanctioned by centuries of international usage, Germany has trodden down on the plea that it embarrassed her methods of warfare, just as last August, on a similar plea, she trampled on the neutral rights of Belgium. Only the width of the Atlantic, not Germany's forbearance nor our power of self-protection, made the loss which we sustained less than that of Belgium.

If the Government of the United States is not to omit "any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty," it stands pledged by this declaration in President Wilson's note of May 13 to the use of force if Germany persists in her attacks upon our citizens traveling on the high seas.

WOMEN'S PEACE PARTY

It was to the speakers of this meeting and the exhibit held by the Security League at the Hotel Astor in New York City of munitions of war that the speakers of the Women's Peace Party referred in the later mass-meeting held in Cooper Union on Tuesday evening. The earlier conference was described by one speaker as "a meeting at which certain learned gentlemen, well supported by gentlemen of great wealth, urged upon us the necessity of spending more of the people's money for National defense. . . . Instead of a meeting of that sort, it seems to me that this is the time of all times to keep calm. This is not the time to fill the Hotel Astor with bombs and torpedoes and invite people to come in and look at them and to hold meetings urging National defense, unless you want to go to war. If you do, that is just the thing to do." At this same meeting Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman attacked the comparison frequently made between the United States and Belgium. She said: "Suppose just such an army landed here as was used for the invasion of Belgium. It could do harm to the coast cities, but there will be thousands of square miles for it to travel before it could subjugate the whole country. We have not here a dense population in a small area" (the truth of this statement will be readily seen by any one who has traveled through the sparsely settled farming country on Manhattan Island!); "the difference between subduing this whole country and the whole of Belgium is the difference between wringing the neck of a pigeon in a cage and catching a Thanksgiving turkey loose on a ten-acre farm." Somehow it seems to us that this statement can be left to the judgment of our readers without any interpretative comment.

II—DEMOCRACY'S DEFENSE AGAINST WAR

The people of the United States want to have peace; but they want still more to fulfill their obligation to their neighbors, to posterity, and to the world.

In this the American people take the view presented in the New Testament, that there is something more to be desired than peace. It may not be worldly wisdom, but it is the wisdom that is from above, which is first pure and then peaceable.

Peace is secondary to justice, righteousness, and duty.

It is said that self-defense is the first law of nature. It may be the first, but it is not the highest. The law of nature that is supreme is the defense of others.

This is true in the family. The wife and mother who is worthy of her calling will forego tranquillity in order to resist those who would rob her husband of his reputation or

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who would sully the soul of her child. That husband and father deserves only dishonor who, for the sake of quiet, would not resist to the uttermost those who would assault his wife or injure his child. Parents may abandon self-defense against those who attack them individually, but they have no right to abandon the defense of their children.

Government is organized defense of others. It was said the other day by the late Secretary of State that a mayor in time of riot could consistently advise citizens to keep off the street. That, however, is not the analogy to the present occasion. A mayor who would allow without resistance a mob to dictate to him orders to keep citizens off the street ought not to be allowed to hold his office for an instant. The city that does not undertake to protect its population against murderers, cutthroats, and gunmen has no government. The nation that will not protect its citizens at home and abroad has no right to the name of nation, for it lacks the essentials of government.

One reason why Americans have a right to be proud of their Nation's history is that in the earliest days of its life the United States showed itself willing to sacrifice blood and treasure for the protection of the rights of its citizens. Against England in 1812 it set itself for the sake of defending the freedom of the seas. In defiance of the unholy Holy Alliance this Nation asserted its determination to prevent the extension of European autocracy to this hemisphere. Still earlier in its life, when it had many domestic difficulties to contend with, it undertook to do what the nations of Europe had during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries been unwilling or afraid to do in ridding the Mediterranean of the Barbary pirates who infested it.

In a letter to The Outlook Mr. Everett P. Wheeler recalls some of the sayings as well as the deeds of that day. In 1801 Captain Bainbridge was sent to the Mediterranean with a frigate. And in 1803, under President Jefferson, a squadron was sent there. In a letter to the Secretary of the Navy, Commodore Rogers declared that "all the Barbary States, except Algiers, appear to have a disposition to quarrel with us unless we tamely submit to any propositions they may choose to make." Later, a naval agent of the United States, in agreement with Hamet, the elder brother of the Bashaw of Tripoli, got together a small force of five or six hundred men, and these, with the co-operation of two United States naval vessels, bombarded the citadel of Derne and took it by storm. The Pope publicly declared that "America had done more for Christendom against the barbarians than all the Powers of Europe united." The Admiral of the British fleet in the Mediterranean, Sir Alexander Ball, wrote to Commodore Preble, "You have done well in not purchasing a peace with money." And Jefferson himself wrote in 1805 to Judge Tyler: "There is reason to believe the example we have already set begins already to work on the disposition of the Powers of Europe to emancipate themselves from that degrading yoke. Should we produce such a revolution there, we shall be amply rewarded for what we have done."

When the population of this country was small, its resources limited, its finances hardly recovered from disorganization, our Government had the courage and the skill to deliver our citizens from degrading submission to the exaction of the Mediterranean pirates. If, now that we are large and rich and strong, we are too timid to deliver our citizens and to help to deliver other neutrals from the exaction of a new form of piracy, it will be to our shame. As Madison wrote in his annual Message of December 15, 1815, the measures which our Government took, followed up by a larger squadron, afforded a "reasonable prospect of future security." It is the business of the American Government to-day to afford a reasonable prospect of future security against lawlessness on the high seas.

It is not sufficient that this country should merely defend its own citizens. It must, as it did in those first years of the nineteenth century, take its share in the burdens of maintaining law throughout the world. It is not knighterrancy that invites us; it is a plain duty that commands us.

If, then, we are to take our full part, we must have the means by which to take it. The disorderly and lawless are not quelled by words. And it is not sufficient for us to organize for National security. We must organize to help establish international security.

This is the significance of the conference in Philadelphia last week to which we have already referred. That conference looks toward peace, but it looks first toward some method of establishing justice, and in doing

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

so it recognizes the need for defending justice with arms. The American people must not be content until this Nation is fit to take part in the world's work.

To that end no one proposes a great standing army, no one proposes any unnecessary burden or any peril of establishing here the methods and policies of militarism; but all Americans should unite in insisting that there should be established here a system of democratic defense. It should be a part of every citizen's duty to take his place in helping to defend, not merely his country's territory, but his country's obligations.

The President has spoken of his belief in a citizenry trained and accustomed to arms. Switzerland has such a citizenry. Every democracy ought to have such a citizenry. Have we? Every one knows that we have not.

Our immediate duty is to bring our regular army to such a standing in efficiency and numbers as to provide for this country its National police as a first line of defense. Our second duty is, through such means as the summer military camps for students, to provide training to a sufficient number of educated young men so that there will be a fair supply of officers for a citizen army when it is called into being. And our third duty is to see that there are available men enough to constitute an army as fit for the purposes of the American democracy as the Swiss army is fit for the purposes of the democracy of Switzerland. And parallel with this threefold duty is the duty to make our navy, which must necessarily be a professional body, sufficiently strong to provide insurance against disaster at the outset.

Preparation "against war," as Secretary Garrison has happily put it, is thus preparation for taking our share of the world's duty to maintain world law.

THE PRESIDENT'S LATEST NOTE TO GERMANY

A POLL OF THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS

FOR the third time, affirms the Washington "Herald," "President Wilson presents an incontrovertible case against Germany." Since the announcement of the establishment of a German war zone the Administration has addressed three notes to the German Government. The first was the "strict accountability" note; the other two concerned the Lusitania.

MANNER

Simply and clearly, and with the utmost courtesy, notes the Rochester "Union and Advertiser," Mr. Wilson informs the German Government that in the matter now in dispute between us we stand just where we did when he despatched his first note to Berlin.

There is no harsh sound about this latest note, remarks the Worcester "Telegram," no suggestion of war to enforce American claims. "The paper is more forceful than the first Lusitania note to Germany, but less liable to irritate the Government on the other side. It waives all quibbling."

The note has also brought forth hearty praise from such keen critics as the New York "Sun" and the Philadelphia "Ledger." The first says:

More than ever patriotic Americans must admire the constructive skill and dialectic ability with which their representative, the Administration of President Wilson, has marshaled the precepts of law and the forces of moral sentiment for the convincing of a great and hitherto always friendly Power that justice is with us and that the right course is Germany's best course.

And the second:

Had documents descendants, and were there a posterity of glorious pronouncements, the line would leap from the Magna Charta to the immortal Declaration, run nobly down to the Emancipation Proclamation, and find at length a worthy scion in the great utterance which has gone to Berlin as the deliberate and irrevocable position of a people apt in the practice of humanity and impregnated with the principles of liberty.

But not all newspapers are as enthusiastic. The Peoria "Transcript" says of the note:

There is less of irony and defiance than was contained in the first one. . . . The latest note smells of the lamp. Parts of it remind us of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the President; other parts are unfamiliar. The statements of fact contained in the German reply are rather curtly, though respectfully, dismissed in the rejoinder.

The Knoxville "Sentinel" discriminates thus:

The first feeling inspired by the note in those who have been following the President sympathetically is apt to be one of disappointment at the exceedingly conciliatory tone of it, almost approaching humility, and the lack or rather studied repression of vigor and aggressiveness except in the restatement of the principle of "humanity" under the law for which the United States stands.

And the New York "Tribune:"

Judged in connection with the events of the last few days and measured by the anticipations of a new birth of firmness and vigor at Washington, which they excited, the new note to Germany will prove a disappointment.

Judged even apart from those events and expectations, and comparing it on its intrinsic merits with the notes of February 10 and May 13, it must appear weak and inconclusive. We cannot feel that it expresses with the necessary earnestness and incisiveness the attitude of the great mass of Americans toward the outrages committed on the high seas by German submarine commanders—outrages which culminated in the Lusitania massacre.

The country expected still more concrete and positive assertion of our position as the champion of neutral rights. It gets an assertion milder in form, and open doors wider than ever to prolonged and dilatory diplomatic discussion.

To all of which the Boston "Journal" replies:

Any state paper might seem flat after the masterly handling of the situation by the President's first statement. Mr. Wilson last May made it difficult for the public to be satisfied with commonplace modes of expression.

But certainly no normal peace advocate could complain of Mr. Wilson's spirit or his words.

MATTER

As to the matter of the note, there is no weakening of the American position, no suggestion of a compromise, declares the Cleveland "Leader." Nor does the new note, adds the Philadelphia "Telegraph," yield to the German request for delay and further controversy over the issue involved. "It does not yield any part of the position taken by the United States Government in its note of last month."

In the opinion of some papers—the New York "Journal of Commerce," for example—the note "is little more than a courteous but forcible and firm reiteration of that to which the German communication was a response."

In the opinion of other papers, however—the Washington "Times," for instance:

The President . . . does more than stand by the position which he adopted for this country in earlier communications. . . . Not only does he stand firmly by his earlier attitude; with punctilious correctness he declines to be led aside from the essentials which he then stated into a rambling discussion of alleged facts and irrelevant principles. . . . He wants Germany to talk about the things he is talking about, not about the things Germany would prefer to talk about and the things its Government did talk about in its note of May 28.

AN ULTIMATUM?

Is our Government's latest note an ultimatum? "Yes," says the Sioux Falls "Press," "in so far as it embodies this Government's last word on the issues of law and fact involved in the killing of peaceful neutrals aboard the torpedoed Lusitania."

Hardly so, contends the Cleveland "Wächter und Anzeiger," a well-known German paper. "The note apparently gives room for further argument, and has not the trend of an ultimatum."

The better-known New York "Staats-Zeitung" also says: "Certainly, the tone and contents of the Wilson note are not to be regarded as forming an ultimatum."

While the President "does not send to Germany an ultimatum," as the New York "Herald" points out, he does "formally ask the Imperial Government for assurances that measures hereafter will be adopted to safeguard American lives and American ships on the high seas. That is the vital line in the message. What will Germany do about it?"

The Harrisburg "Patriot" concludes thus:

The primary pressing question that Germany is asked to answer is: Do you stand with or against civilization? In the event that the Kaiser acquiesces in this matter, the crisis is averted; if he refuses, Washington may be counted upon to preserve unsullied the honor and integrity of this great country which we call Home.

At the same time, in the opinion of so sharp a critic as is the Chicago "Post," a striking excellence of the note is its "strong, fair, and adroit declaration of our own understanding of Germany's feeling. It lies in the President's announcement of his willingness to act as an intermediary with Great

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Britain 'in an attempt to come to an understanding by which the character and conditions of the war on the sea may be changed.'" The same sentiment is expressed in near-by Milwaukee. We find the "Sentinel" of that city saying:

A hopeful and very significant paragraph is that in reply to the intimation on the part of Germany that her Government is still open to an arrangement with Great Britain for mitigating this war of reprisals. . . .

THE PRESIDENT UPHELD

It was characteristic of Colonel Roosevelt, says the Brooklyn "Citizen," that when he heard of Bryan's resignation from the Cabinet and the reason for it he should have taken the first opportunity to pledge his support to the President. The paper adds:

Former President Taft was one of the first to pledge his support to the President. Both of the former Presidents, who differ in many matters, are of one mind in seeing the necessity for all Americans with influence to stand behind the President.

It is this unity of purpose which strengthens the President's hand and enables him to take a firm stand in the protection of American rights and interests against a foreign Power. This is instinctively felt by the people and accounts for their condemnation of Mr. Bryan, who chose to create the impression that the American people are divided in their support of the policy for which Woodrow Wilson stands.

Mr. Roosevelt's statement is as follows:

According to Mr. Bryan's statement, he has left the Cabinet because President Wilson, as regards the matters at issue with Germany, refuses to follow the precedent set in the thirty all-inclusive arbitration commission treaties recently negotiated, and declines to suspend action for a year while a neutral commission investigates the admitted murder of American men, women, and children on the high seas, and, further, declines to forbid American citizens to travel on neutral ships in accordance with the conditions guaranteed to us by Germany herself in solemn treaty.

Of course I heartily applaud the decision of the President, and in common with all other Americans who are loyal to the traditions handed down by the men who served under Washington, and by the others who followed Grant and Lee in the days of Lincoln, I pledge him my heartiest support in all the steps he takes to uphold the honor and the interests of this great Republic which are bound up with the maintenance of democratic liberty and of a wise spirit of humanity among all the nations of mankind.

Says the Burlington "Free Fress:"

With Theodore Roosevelt announcing that he "stands by the President," the question at once suggests itself, "Who is against the President in this contingency?" We must stand by him even though we may not approve of everything he may do about the tariff and preparedness, and so on.

The New York "Evening Post" says:

Mr. Wilson has confined himself to those matters which alone give the United States a standing in court. But he has been able, in presenting American claims and making American demands, to constitute himself the champion of all neutral nations and the upholder of the fundamental doctrines of international law. This is the great reason why foreigners are now paying him such notable tributes. And this is the main reason why his fellow-countrymen, thankful as they are that a man of his sane strength and clear ability should have been in the White House at a time like this, ought to applaud and support their President. He is serving them, but he is also serving civilization.

GERMAN COMMENT

The emphasis in this review of international public opinion, however, should be on the new attitude of the German press. For even more interesting and more significant than are the opinions expressed by our own papers we find those telegraphed from Germany. They show a distinctly less truculent tone.

The widely read Berlin "Mittag Zeitung" says of the note: "The alarming messages which the Reuter Bureau appended to the Bryan resignation must be taken back to-day. There is neither an ultimatum nor any threatening language toward Germany in the note."

The Berlin "Lokalanzeiger," which generally reflects the Government's view, if, indeed, it is not directly inspired by it, immediately after the sinking of the Lusitania presented one German point of view, intimating intimidation, as follows:

We do not wish to gain the love of the Americans, but we desire to be respected by them. The loss of the Lusitania will earn that respect for us more than a hundred battles won on land.

This Prussian paper seems to be modifying its tone; for now it says, with a rather lumbering effort to appear mollified:

We need not close up our department of incoming and outgoing declarations of war, which heretofore has worked nobly, but it seems that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

we can curtail the output somewhat without incurring a reputation for excessive caution.

The "Lokalanzeiger" also prints a noteworthy article on German-American relations by its general director, Herr Eugen Zimmermann, which, coming on the heels of the foregoing conciliatory article, is taken to mean that influential representatives of politics and business are standing behind this paper and exerting their efforts for an American-German understanding.

"President Wilson," says Herr Zimmermann, "desires nothing more and nothing less than an understanding between Germany and England concerning the forms of maritime warfare, which at the same time will insure the safety of American passengers. The task is not light, considering the development of naval war, but it can be solved if all interests display good will."

Finally, the article ventures to indicate for the first time to the German public that there may be a second side to the question of arms shipments, on which the press for months has been harping.

The popular "Vossische Zeitung," of Berlin—"good old Tante Voss," as Berliners dub it—says:

President Wilson's note creates no new situation between Germany and America, but its honorable and carefully weighed tone will help to clear up the existing situation. There can be no difference of opinion about Mr. Wilson's final aim—that the lives of peaceful neutrals must be kept out of danger. What we can do and what America must do to achieve this will require negotiations between us and America which must be conducted with every effort toward being just and by maintaining our standpoint in the friendliest spirit.

In a later number of "Tante Voss," however, Herr Georg Bernhard, a political writer, in an article on the American note, says the Germans are too jubilant over the tone and contents of the note. "There is no justification for the joyfulness," says Herr Bernhard, "because of the essential differences which exist between Germany and the United States," and it adds:

Not one of those differences has been removed by the exchanges of notes. Of course we are pleased that the United States is willing to submit to England all of our commissions, but we have no new commissions.

America told us she would take the initiative in preventing England from a future misuse of naval warfare. This we greeted thankfully. If America's representations are unsuccessful, she may repeat them. Whether the German submarine warfare can be moderated depends solely on the attitude of England.

On this hear the influential "Berliner Tageblatt:"

The Washington Government shows an honest desire to arrive at an agreement. This is a characteristic of the American note. . . . The note indicates that America by no means takes the position that the German Admiralty must issue an order to end the submarine warfare before any negotiations can be entered upon. Giving up submarine warfare is only hinted at by implication. Germany's humanity is appealed to entirely in general terms and merely the expectation is expressed that the lives of American citizens and their property will be spared in the future.

When, on November 2, the North Sea was declared to be a war zone, a protest should have been raised. That was the time for a protest in America's own interest. International law was first violated by England. Did America become indignant over that unfriendly act? Americans will hardly assert that. Complete neutrality would best serve America's own interest. We have complete confidence that the friendly relations between America and Germany, which the American Government emphasizes in the note, will smooth a way for the American Government's understanding, and so help right and humanity to victory.

In the same paper Herr Paul Michaelis writes as follows:

The note is now being submitted to a thorough examination by the proper German authorities. It simplifies a serious position, and it is plain it does not entirely bar the way to a friendly agreement, even admitting the possibility that the German Government may have been right concerning the Lusitania's guns and cargo.

The note maintains the principle that submarine war on mercantile vessels is contrary to humanity, but the German Government never left the slightest doubt of that. It only decided to adopt submarine war when England compelled it by a naval war contrary to all rules of humanity.

American offers of friendly services to mediate between Germany and England are in line with Germany's previous suggestions. When England grants freedom of the seas, Germany will have no objection to modifying her submarine war.

FRENCH COMMENT

The French press seems thoroughly satisfied with the American note, declaring that its firmness and dignity of tone fulfills expectations. In particular, the Paris "Temps," perhaps the weightiest newspaper authority

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in France, asserts that the note brings the question back to the grounds from which German diplomacy endeavored to divert it. The paper continues :

President Wilson maintains firmly and with conviction the same ideas already twice expressed. He refuses to admit that his elevated conception of right may become the subject of compromise, and he expresses it anew in clear and precise terms that permit no more evasive replies. Mr. Wilson replies in the name of his country: "I do not bargain with the sacred rights of humanity."

The " Temps " adds :

Germany must choose between having the services of America in proposing to the Allies a moderation of their blockade, conducted with the strictest humanity, and the cessation of torpedoing neutral ships, the continuation of which exposes Germany to a diplomatic rupture with the United States, if not to war.

Next to the "Temps" in authority is assuredly the Paris "Journal des Débats." It affirms :

The United States, representing in this case the civilized world, places the sacred rights of humanity above considerations of the military order to which Germany subordinates everything. They are resolved, so far as concerns American subjects, to have those rights respected.

The essence of the note is, first, measures required by humanity must be taken, and afterward, if desired, will come discussions of a new regulation of naval warfare. If Germany insists on putting herself outside the pale of humanity, she will suffer the consequences.

The Paris " Liberté's " comment on the note is as follows :

It is in every way worthy of a great country conscious of its dignity, its rights, and its duties. It has not the tone of an ultimatum, since it is couched in courteous terms, but it is energetic and it requires Germany finally to cease recourse to false expedients.

The words " solemn representations " which occur in the note, says the Paris " Petit Parisien," sum up its spirit. Notwithstanding the perfect politeness of its tone, the paper asserts, such words are not used in diplomatic documents except in periods of real tension. They are held to show that President Wilson has decided upon his policy and nothing will induce him to alter it.

Finally, ex-Premier Clemenceau (who hitherto has been a somewhat severe critic of President Wilson, mainly charging the President with slowness in the necessary word and action) unstintedly praises the latest American note to Germany in an editorial in " L'Homme Enchainé " of Paris. The editorial begins by saying that the document is limited to maintaining with inflexible firmness, from which extreme courtesy is not excluded, the preceding American declaration, the only novelty being an acceptance beforehand of an eventual demand by Germany with a view of obtaining from England modifications of the present naval warfare. " The note's construction is so simple," M. Clemenceau writes, " and its arguments so based on common sense, that no attempt at diplomatic confusion can succeed in spoiling its clearness. President Wilson has shown himself to be fully equal to the task. His luminous demonstration must convince all impartial minds."

ENGLISH COMMENT

The London " Evening Standard," in an editorial article on the American note, says of it and the preceding note :

The first note submitted a point of view; the second demands assurances that this point of view will be accepted. By putting forward this definite demand the United States has irrevocably committed itself. Refusal on the part of the German Government—and the language of the German press makes it difficult to believe in the possibility of anything but refusal—can no longer be accepted with sorrowful acquiescence. The United States is pledged to action of some sort, though by no means warlike action. It all depends on the Germans.

Continuing, the " Standard " editorial argues that the Germans, now that their food supplies have been proved ample, can afford to suspend the submarine blockade. " This is the line President Wilson evidently is anxious for them to take," the " Standard " says, " but, as we have said, we do not believe German opinion, public or private, is in a mood to take it."

The chief theme of the London " Westminster Gazette's " comment is that the American people, usually upbraided for their commercialism, have astonished the world by their altruistic stand for the cause of humanity. " President Wilson places himself," this newspaper adds, " in the line of direct descent from the great Presidents."

The succinct comment of the London " Pall Mall Gazette " is as follows :

President Wilson is determined that if Germany should force a rupture with the United States she shall do so with the colors of piracy firmly nailed to her flagstaff.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A NEW RUSSIA? TWO VIEWS

In The Outlook for April 7, 14, and 28 Mr. George Kennan, whose authority on Russian affairs is universally acknowledged, discussed "Russia After the War." Mr. Lavine, a young Russian Jew, who has been in this country for some time, here takes issue with one of Mr. Kennan's conclusions. Following his article is Mr. Kennan's reply.—THE EDITORS.

I—YES, BUT NOT THROUGH REVOLUTION

BY ISAAC DON LAVINE

THE assumption made in the pages of The Outlook by the foremost authority on political Russia in this country, George Kennan, that there is not only a possibility, but even a probability, of a revolution in Russia after the war is based on historical precedents. The war with Turkey in 1877–8 and the revolutionary activities in Russia that followed it, the Russo-Japanese War, and the unsuccessful revolution of 1905 constitute these precedents. In order to prove, however, that history will repeat itself in the present case as well it is evidently necessary to establish the similarity between the present situation and those that followed in the two instances mentioned, or, in other words, it is necessary to show that in case of the Allies' victory there will be put in motion forces of the *same* quality and momentum that were produced by the two cited wars in order to bring about the *same* results, *i. e.*, a revolution in Russia after this war.

What are these forces resulting from war and where are they to be found? Are they of an internal or external character, and are they located in the national or international situation arising from war? The answers depend on how we regard war. Is war *primarily* a national or international affair? We will all agree that *primarily* it is an international affair, and therefore its effects and results are primarily international. The causes, then, of all national, internal phenomena taking place in a country after it had been engaged in a war are to be located in the international, external state in which the country has been thrown as a result of that war. A revolution is a national, internal phenomenon. But when it comes as a result of a war—and war primarily is international in its effects—it is due to international conditions brought about by the war.

Will the same international conditions result from the present war as from the wars of 1877–8 and 1904–5? Or, what amounts to the same thing, will there be put in motion forces that would bring about a revolution in Russia? A careful study of the situation will show that not only will these conditions not be the same, but they will be decidedly opposite in their effect. The wars with Turkey and Japan were, on the part of Russia, bureaucratic, mediæval; they had produced little effect on the economic development of Russia, and, whatever effect they had, it was not a stimulus to the transforming of Russia into a capitalistic state, but, on the contrary, it had a retarding, petrifying effect on the country, and tended to keep it as long as possible in its feudal state. The present war is, on the part of Russia, democratic, progressive; it will bring about closer relations between the undeveloped Russia and the most enterprising commercial states of the world; it will enslave Russia to capital, foreign gold will engulf it financially, but capital will give it political freedom. Liberty has always come to a nation when capitalism took the place of feudalism.

It is, then, in economic development that we are to look for the New Russia. Russia, so long as her natural resources are undeveloped, her millions of peasants unaffected by commerce and industry, will remain an unlimited autocracy. But what France and Great Britain are going to do is to pour billions into Russia, and that country will see an age of industrial and commercial activity on a scale which the world had never seen before. Capital, with its quickly accumulating enormous surpluses, will rush into the fertile plains of eastern Europe and will accomplish more towards educating the Russian people than all the revolutionary literature that has been distributed among the peasants for generations. They will learn their needs, not from orators and brochures, but in mines, factories, and plantations.

There can be no doubt that with the awakening of Russia to a capitalistic era there will rise higher and more powerful the voice of the people demanding reforms, and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that voice will not remain unanswered, as it did up to this time. It will command the attention of the Government because it will be in the interests of the foreign capitalists not to have a revolution in the country. The Czar will be slowly made to change his attitude toward the people, and gradually to grant them some rights, not because of the love the British and French entertain for freedom, but because of their tremendous investments in Russia. In short, France and England, vitally interested in the smooth economic development of their ally, will see to it that no revolution breaks out in its country.

There is no reason, however, for expecting immediate great changes in Russia after the war. These will not take place very soon, simply because so long as the masses are kept in the dark they furnish cheaper labor or higher profits to the investors. Foreign capital will at first co-operate with the Czar's Government. But the mission of capital is educating the people, and since Russia's working class, though small in comparison to its population, cannot be ignored as a factor, before long the co-operation of the French and British with the Czar will become a source of influencing him for granting some liberties to the people.

In this respect the Russian people have already profited by the war. The influence exerted on the Czar heretofore by the retrograde Prussian Government has been substituted by that of radical France and England. It is Germanic influence that is largely responsible for the corruption of the Russian nobility. It was Germanic influence that had ever backed reactionary Russia. But on the day Germany declared war against Russia the seed of a New Russia was planted. It is a child of capital. It is now in the process of germination. It will appear among the nations of the world, not as a republic, the result of a revolution, but as a constitutional monarchy, the product of evolution.

The foundations of a New Russia have been laid with the elimination of Prussian influence from the Czar's Court; its erection will take place with the development of the vast resources of eastern Europe and Siberia; and its completion will be inaugurated with the expansion of its commerce and industries to an extent commensurate with its colossal wealth and enormous population.

II—WHY REVOLUTION IS TO BE EXPECTED

BY GEORGE KENNAN

I AM sorry that I cannot wholly agree with Mr. Lavine, although he probably knows Russia as well as I do, if not better. I admit that a foreign war is "primarily an international affair," but its effects are not always confined to international relations. On the contrary, it often changes materially the domestic situation by increasing burdens and intensifying discontent. When a nation, after a long struggle for freer institutions, engages in a foreign war at the command of its monarch, it naturally expects that its sufferings and sacrifices will be rewarded by a grant of the civil rights and powers that it has so long sought. When, however, after the war, it finds that its burdens have increased while its services have not been recompensed, when it discovers that the Government which it has supported and defended is disposed to take everything without giving anything, it becomes more dissatisfied and rebellious than ever. This is why a foreign war in a despotically governed country so often precipitates a revolution. But the revolution, it seems to me, is not "due to *international* conditions brought about by the war," but rather to *domestic* conditions which the war has aggravated and intensified. The people rebel because they feel that they have been unfairly treated, and because a situation which was barely tolerable before has been made absolutely intolerable, not only by governmental ingratitude and injustice, but by an increase in the weight of the yoke.

Mr. Lavine seems to be of the opinion that the foreign capital which will "rush into the fertile plains of eastern Europe after the war," and the consequent stimulation of "industrial and commercial activity," will "accomplish more toward educating the Russian people than all the revolutionary literature that has been distributed among the peasants for generations." Again I am sorry to find myself in disagreement. In my best judgment, Great Britain and France after the war will not be in a condition financially to "pour billions into Russia." On the con-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

trary, they will have billions of losses to make up at home. The trade between western Europe and Russia will doubtless be increased, because Germany will be in disfavor, and her trade may be crippled by high if not discriminating duties; but the increase will hardly be measurable in "billions."

Even, however, if France and Great Britain should "pour billions into Russia," what reason is there to suppose that these billions, even backed by French and British influence, will induce the Czar to "grant some liberties to the people"? France, Great Britain, and Belgium poured billions into Russia long before this war, but neither their money nor their influence checked the reaction under Alexander III, or the bloody repression which followed the dissolution of the First Duma. Foreign capital has often sustained the Russian despotism, but has never modified it, although republican France has been the principal lender. Great foreign investments have been made in Russia in times past, but they have never loosened the grip in which the Czar, "the spheres," and the bureaucracy hold the people. The western European Jews at one time or another have been instrumental in pouring hundreds of millions at least into Russia, but have they ever changed in the slightest degree the Czar's attitude toward his Jewish subjects?

I cannot see how foreign capital, even if it be invested in "mines, factories, and plantations," is going to liberalize the Russian Government. It may increase Russian prosperity, and to some extent Russian enlightenment; but prosperity merely makes despotism more tolerable, while enlightenment is of little use unless it shows the oppressed people how to use force intelligently and efficiently. The Russians are enlightened enough already to know that they are misgoverned, but their enlightenment does not help them. The more they become enlightened, the less heed seems to be paid to their voice.

I do not insist that revolution is the best or the only remedy for bad government. My contention is merely that, if existing conditions in Russia are aggravated by heavier burdens and continued oppression after the war, a revolutionary uprising is probable—capital or no capital.

Mr. Lavine is unquestionably right in saying that militarism and bureaucracy in Russia have been supported and promoted by militarism and bureaucracy in Germany. The monarchs and governments were akin, and they naturally helped each other. The cause of Russian freedom, therefore, has much to gain from the elimination of German influence. But that will not be enough. What we have to hope for as a result of the war is the downfall of the Romanoffs, the Hohenzollerns, and the Hapsburgs, and the complete overthrow of all the governmental institutions by which those dynasties have been sustained. I can see no agency more likely to be efficient in bringing that result about than revolution.

A PAGEANT WITH A PURPOSE

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE

ALL the public schools of the Bronx, in New York City, turned out on Borough Day, June 9, in the wake of military bands and motor cars filled with politicians, in order to proclaim the greatness of the borough. There were the usual troops of children decked out in Liberty caps and red, white, and blue crape paper. But one group stood out from the mass. Public School No. 45 from the Bronx had organized a pageant. And that pageant had a purpose. The banners the children carried told their story. First came a great white placard announcing:

P. S. NO. 45
THE SCHOOL THAT IS TRYING
THE WIRT PLAN

Then a second banner followed:

IT IS BETTER TO
WORK, STUDY, AND PLAY
THAN TO
SIT IN SCHOOL SEATS
ALL DAY

The crowd along the curb of the Bronx Concourse saw for the first time what a Wirt school is like. Looking down the file of children, the spectators could read the placards of this pageant before they could distinguish the group of gayly costumed children. At the head of the procession they saw the banner:

SEE HOW WE DO IT!

Then the crowd, surprised by the novelty of these signs, watched expectantly.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FARMERS

said the next sign. And a row of sturdy boys marched past in wide-brimmed hats and overalls, carrying their farm implements and pulling a cart labeled:

VEGETABLES RAISED ON OUR FARM FOR SALE

Then

CARPENTERS AND POTTERS

read the crowd, as two more files of boys dressed in brown craftsman aprons and close-fitting yellow caps went by carrying the tools and product of their craft.

PRINTERS

said the next banner, beside an old-fashioned printing-press, escorted by a dozen boys and girls in printers' aprons. Behind the banner of the

SCIENTISTS

marched a row of children dressed in the brown flowing robes and tall peaked caps of the mediæval scientist. Between them they carried a wireless apparatus, a telegraph instrument, a telephone, a magnet, and a camera. Two picturesque rows of children, dressed as artists and musicians in brown smocks and great black tam-o'-shanters, were next in line. The first row carried huge painters' palettes, the second great golden harps. Three lines of Milliners, Dressmakers, and Cooks closed in the Work section of the pageant.

The Study section followed. The crowd was less silent. It was once again on familiar ground when the banner of the Three R's went by accompanied by a mass of children carrying the different letters of the alphabet and the symbols of Geography and History. No need of questions here.

A Play section came next—rows of boys and girls in athletic costumes carrying racquets, basket-balls, and dumbbells, girls in dancing dresses, and children with dominoes and checkerboards. A large platform plastered over with indoor games was drawn along at the end of the Play section, labeled:

WHEN IT RAINS

At the rear of the pageant walked a group of mothers carrying banners showing what facilities the Wirt school plan gives to their children at Public School No. 45, and how much less it will ultimately cost. Then a large placard said:

WE LIKE THIS KIND OF A SCHOOL FOR OUR CHILDREN

And as these mothers in the pageant passed there were cheers, and I heard other mothers watching the parade murmur, "That's a nice kind of school," "I'd like my child to go there." I even heard a public school principal say, "I'd be willing to have my son go to *such* a public school."

The crowd was caught by the pageant. Hundreds of mothers and fathers were out to see their children marching in the Borough Day parade. Their interest, their rights, their pride, were challenged by this new kind of school which gave children more and which cost less. Why had they not known about it before? How could there be time for the three R's in the school when they did so many things? Where teach farming in a Bronx school when their borough could not even seat all its children?

To answer the varied questions about the Wirt school which sprang up along the line of the pageant there should have been a final banner reading:

COME AND SEE THIS WIRT SCHOOL IN ACTION—P. S. NO. 45

For the pageant was nothing but a symbol of the school itself. Furthermore, one might describe in detail the scheme of a Wirt school, and yet not make clear the inner force of its vital spirit for which its organization served merely as a means.

To catch the new spirit of a Wirt school one ought to be familar with the atmosphere of the typical public school, with its long hushed corridors, its wriggling classes, and its hordes of silent children shuffling into the overcrowded playgrounds. And then step into a Wirt school and see the corridors filled with spontaneous, animated children going and coming about their particular tasks. Everywhere small groups, eagerly active in their chosen work in the shops, the studios, the playgrounds, and other special activities. Most striking sight of all is the breaking up of age lines among the children. Older ones are selected as teacher assistants to organize games or dances for younger groups, and, *vice versa*, younger children are allowed to come into the shops as helpers to the older ones. The teachers are all the while in the background! No longer expected to dominate masses of resistant youngsters, they fall into their rightful place as sharers and helpers in the children's activities.

In the reorganization of the intellectualized elementary school Mr. Wirt has made two concrete contributions to educational practice which are at variance with our present

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

method of public school organization. He has combated the prevailing view that the programme is the thing, rather than greater facilities for the child; and he has scouted the assumption that every child at school should do the same thing at the same time in the same way. Mr. Wirt's achievement in school organization depends on his adaptation of public service management for school use. All the people can afford to have the best public service facilities, such as libraries, museums, and street cars, part of the time, only because part of the people always use them all of the time. Similarly, to make the best kind of school pay, the school facilities must be used by some of the school children all the time.

In order to reorganize an elementary school or group of schools, Mr. Wirt first makes a general survey of the existing child-welfare facilities, such as parks, playgrounds, libraries, museums, settlements, swimming-pools, and the like. To make use of such facilities, Mr. Wirt, as far back as fifteen years ago, applied the principles of college and high school management to elementary schools. Instead of keeping children strapped to school seats all day, he has simply transferred the scheme of rotating classes back to the elementary school. Just as high school students leave their Latin class for special work in laboratories, so Mr. Wirt's children leave their three R's room for special work in the shops, for study in the museums, for recreation in the playgrounds.

To Mr. Wirt's mind, "all child-welfare agencies that can meet the needs of the children should have the opportunity to get the children at any hour of the day and every day, so that they may work at their maximum efficiency." In his opinion, the school should not compete with the other child-welfare agencies, but by co-operation with them serve as a sort of clearing-house for children's activities.

Under the Wirt plan, however, the three R's are not neglected at the expense of other activities. In order to meet the varied needs of the children and to give them proper opportunities to play, instead of turning them on the streets, the Wirt school keeps children six hours a day. A little over half a school day is spent in the class-rooms, the rest of the time is divided between the auditorium, the playground, and shops. Therefore, while one child is away from the school desk another can be using it. The same correlated use of playgrounds, auditoriums, and shops during the entire day makes it possible for twice as many children to be accommodated as under the old régime.

The problem that baffles most people who hear of the increased facilities of the Wirt school is how the enriched environment can be achieved without increasing the teaching staff and with slight structural changes to the schools. A certain number of class-rooms are turned into science laboratories, carpentry, plumbing, and printing shops, and studios for art and music. Teachers from the general staff are departmentalized for some of this special work, but actual artisans are engaged for building repairs or general school uses, such as printing. These train the children as assistants and so direct the work in the class.

At present Public School 45 in the Bronx and Public School 89 in Brooklyn are the only two schools running in New York City on the Wirt school plan. Neither of them has as yet been completely equipped with the necessary shops. It is to be hoped that the survey for reorganizing the twelve schools in the Bronx district made by Mr. Wirt at the request of the Board of Education will soon be approved so that the Wirt school plan may transform the most congested of all New York's school districts.

Without figures it is difficult to picture the present degree of overcrowding in the Bronx. There are 25,000 seatings in all the Bronx public schools and 35,000 children registered—10,000 more children than there are seats. There are two new schools under construction, but at the present rate of increase they will not even take care of the increase in school attendance while these buildings are under construction. If the two new school buildings proposed for the Bronx were ready to-morrow, there would still be 4,000 children without satisfactory seats, and no provision for normal growth in the future. While two new school buildings proposed by the Board of Education for the Bronx would cost about $1,000,000 and still leave 4,000 children without seats, Mr. Wirt's reorganization plan would cost $250,000 less and allow for a future increase of 10,000 children, and, what is ultimately more essential, Mr. Wirt's plan would give all these children a broader and richer education. As Mr. Wirt aptly states it, his school plan is extravagant only in the opportunities it affords children.

MARGARET NAUMBURG.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

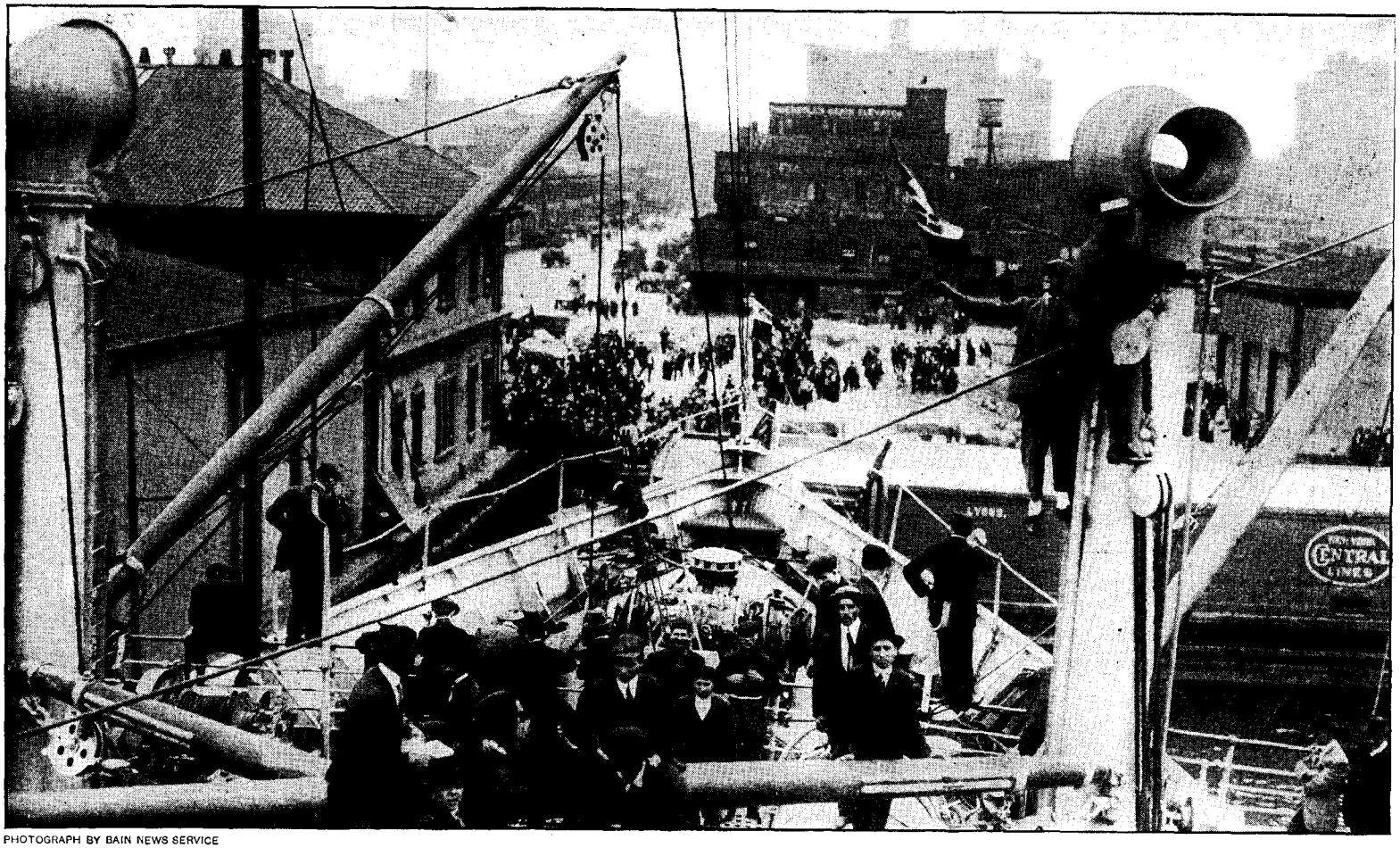
Current Events Pictorially Treated

COPYRIGHT BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

A SECRETARY OF WAR WHO BELIEVES IN PREPAREDNESS

Secretary Lindley M. Garrison, who is at the left in the group shown above (with General Hugh L. Scott in the center and Colonel Clarence P. Townsley at the right), has won Nation-wide approval for his advocacy of an army that will really be capable of defending the country if emergency arises for its use. Secretary Garrison was born in Camden, N. J., in 1864; studied at Harvard; practiced law in Philadelphia, Camden, and Jersey City; was Vice-Chancellor of New Jersey from 1904 to 1913; and assumed his present post in President Wilson's Cabinet in 1913

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

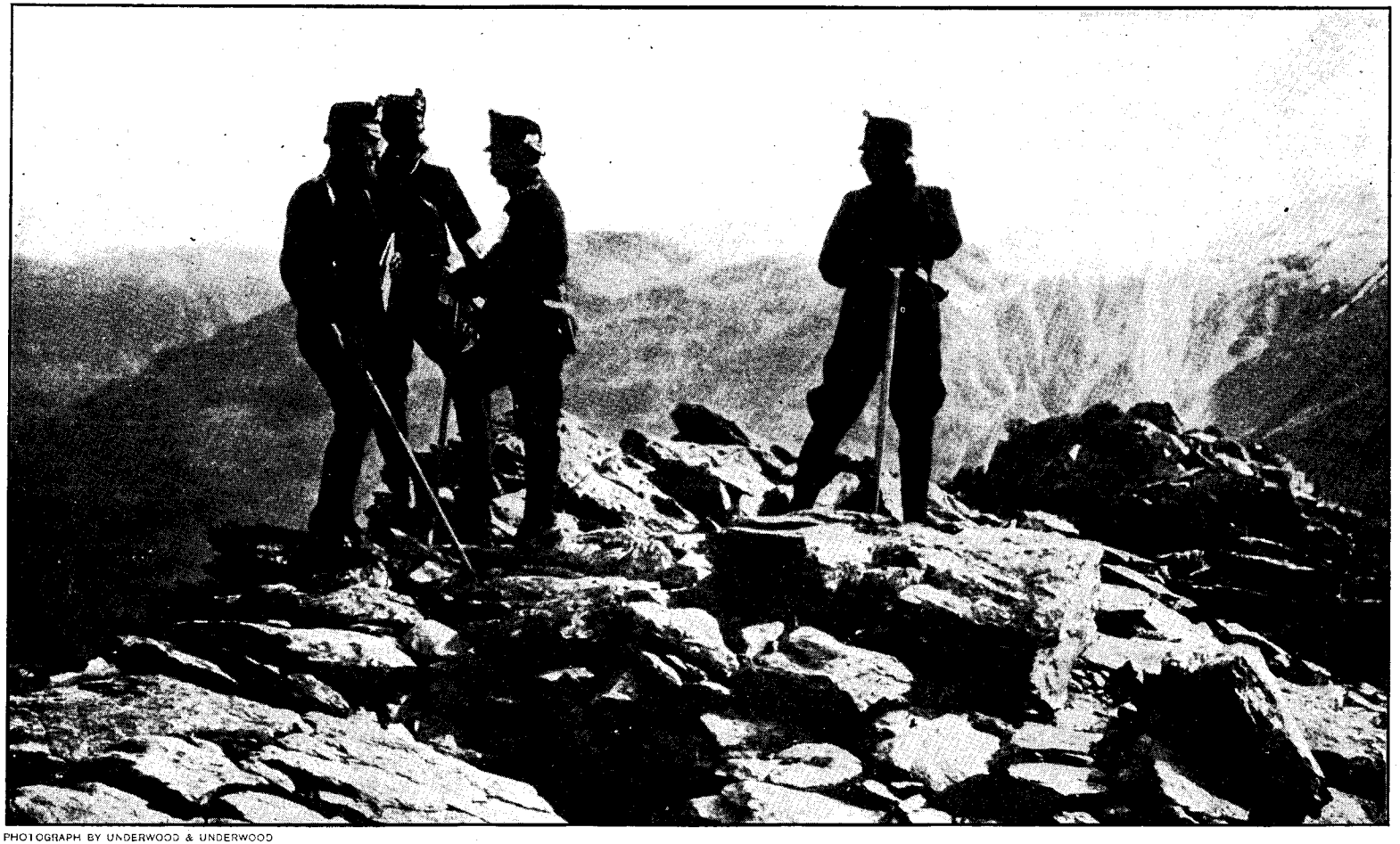


PHOTOGRAPH BY BAIN NEWS SERVICE

ITALIAN PATRIOTS LEAVING NEW YORK TO FIGHT FOR THEIR COUNTRY

The Italian steamship Duca degli Abruzzi sailed a few days ago with over 300 reservists who are eager to get to the front in Italy's war with Austria. Among the passengers was Ernesto Nathan, formerly Mayor of Rome, who has been in this country as Italian Commissioner-General to the Panama Exposition. "Italy goes to war," Signor Nathan said, "not for aggrandizement, but that the people in the territories that are Italian may come back under the flag of their native country"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



PHOTOGRAPH BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

THE DEFENDERS OF A PEACEFUL COUNTRY THAT IS NOW SURROUNDED BY WARRING NATIONS

Switzerland, officers of whose army of defense are shown above, will maintain her territorial integrity as a neutral nation with determination and, it is hoped, success. Her army of 400,000 men is said to be highly efficient, and her situation amid the highest mountains of Europe gives her an exceedingly strong defensive position. Switzerland furnishes the best example of what a peaceable and self-respecting democracy can and should do by way of military preparation. Every Swiss man of military age is expected to take his part in the system by which this democracy defends itself as he is expected to perform any other duty of citizenship, and to that end receives, as a part of his education in school, military training

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COPYRIGHT BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

NEW YORK WOMAN SUFFRAGISTS CARRYING ON A STATE-WIDE CAMPAIGN

The picture shows Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer addressing an open-air meeting in New York City, and bearing a new Greek torch dedicated to the "votes for women" cause. The torch is to be passed on to various speakers in a comprehensive campaign

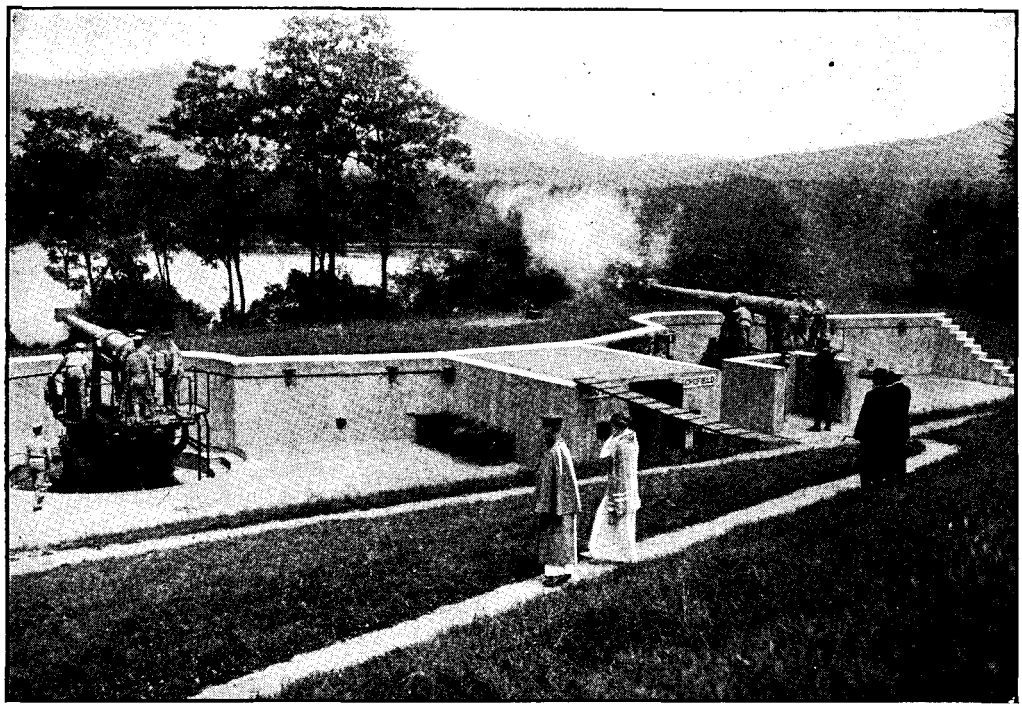
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COPYRIGHT BY AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

AN ARCTIC RESCUE CREW

The auxiliary schooner George B. Cluett left New York recently for North Greenland to bring back the members of the MacMillan exploring expedition which in 1913 attempted to find "Crocker Land," reported by Admiral Peary as a veritable discovery, but which the MacMillan party declare to be non-existent. The George B. Cluett is under the command of Captain H. C. Pickles, who is accompanied by Dr. Hovey, of the American Museum of Natural History. The crew, with their mascot, are shown in the photograph as they appeared shortly before the vessel sailed

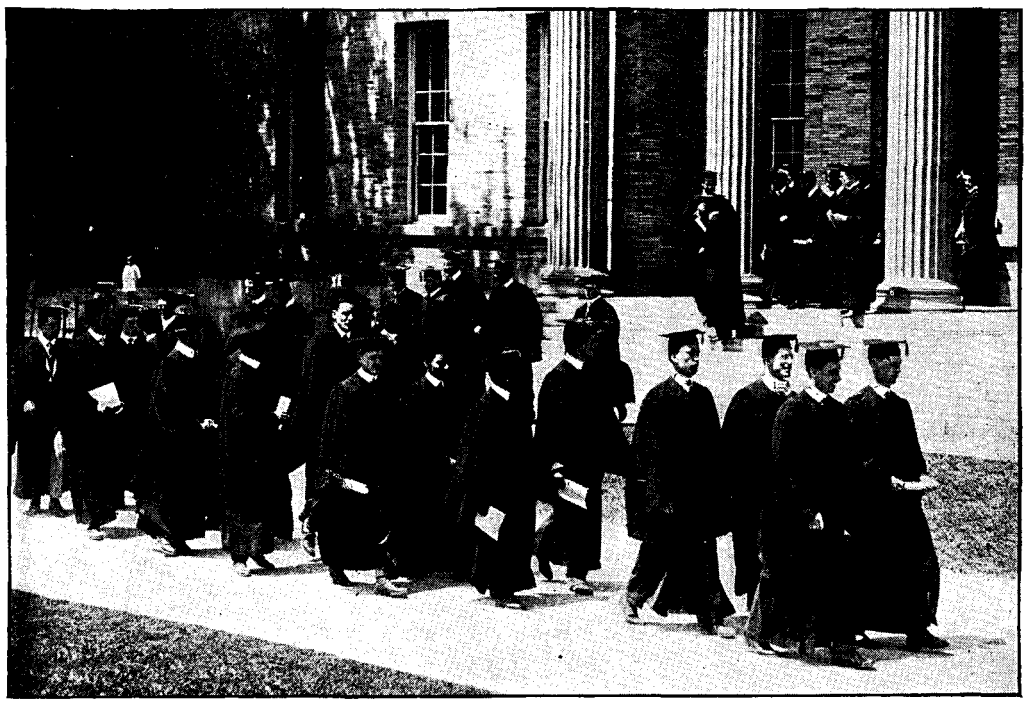
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



COPYRIGHT BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

TARGET PRACTICE AT WEST POINT BY THE AMERICAN ARMY'S FUTURE LEADERS

The cadets shown in the picture are learning to use the 6-inch guns which are mounted in fortifications overlooking the Hudson River at what Lord Kitchener is said to have called, on a visit to West Point, "the most wonderful military school in the world"



PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL THOMPSON

THE PROCESSION OF THE GRADUATING CLASS OF 1915 AT THE NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

PREPARING FOR PEACE AND FOR WAR

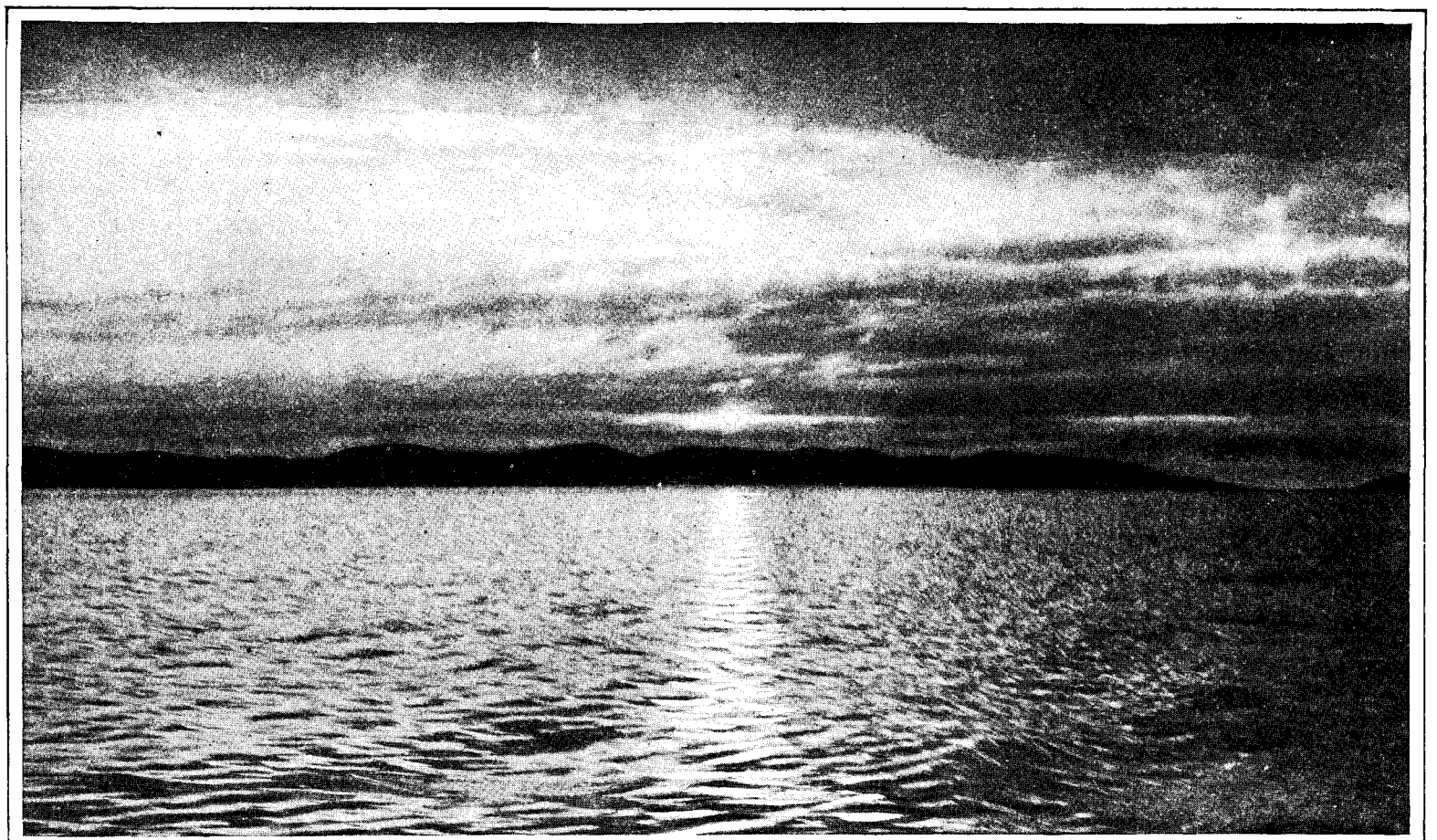
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MISS MARGARET NAUMBURG

THE "WIRT PLAN" AS WORKED OUT IN A NEW YORK CITY SCHOOL

See special correspondence on "A Pageant with a Purpose," elsewhere in this issue

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



THE ALASKAN SUNSET IS THE MOST WONDERFUL IN THE WORLD

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ALASKA DAYS WITH JOHN MUIR

BY S. HALL YOUNG

SECOND ARTICLE

THE ICE CHIEF

THE summer and fall of 1879 Muir always referred to as the most interesting period of his adventurous life. From about the 10th of July to the 20th of November he was in southeastern Alaska. Very little of this time did he spend indoors. Until steamboat navigation of the Stickeen River was closed by the forming ice he made frequent trips to the Great Glacier, thirty miles up the river, to the Hot Springs, the Mud Glacier, the interior lakes and ranges, forests, and flower pastures. Always upon his return—for my house was his home the most of that time—he would be full to intoxication of what he had seen, and dinners would grow cold and lamps burn out while he held us entranced with his impassioned stories. Although his books are all masterpieces of lucid and glowing English, yet Muir was one of those rare souls who talk better than they write; and he made the trees, the animals, but especially the glaciers, live before us. Somehow a glacier never seemed cold when John Muir was talking about it.

September was a season of constant rains, when the *saanah*, the southeast rain wind, blew a gale. But these stormy days and nights, which kept ordinary people indoors, always lured him out into the woods or up the mountains.

One wild night, dark as Erebus, the rain dashing in sheets and the wind a hurricane, Muir came from his room into ours about ten o'clock, with his long gray overcoat and his Scotch cap on.

"Where now?" I asked.

"Oh, to the top of the mountain," he replied. "It is a rare chance to study this fine storm."

Our expostulations were in vain. He rejected with scorn the proffered lantern; "it would spoil the effect." We retired at our usual time, for we had learned not to worry about Muir. At two o'clock in the morning there came a hammering at the front door. I opened it, and there stood a group of our Christian Indians, rain-soaked and trembling—Chief Tow-a-att, Moses, Aaron, Matthew Thomas.

"Why, men," I cried, "what's wrong? What brings you here?"

"We want you play [pray]," answered Matthew.

I brought them into the house, and, putting on my clothes and lighting the lamp, I set about to find what was the trouble. It was not easy. They were greatly excited and frightened.

"We scare. All Stickeen scare; plenty cly. We want you play God; plenty play."

By dint of much questioning I gathered at last that the whole tribe were frightened by a mysterious light waving and flickering from the top of the little mountain that overlooked Wrangell; and they wished me to pray to the white man's God and avert dire calamity.

"Some miner has camped there," I ventured.

An eager chorus protested; it was not like the light of a camp-fire in the least; it waved in the air, like the wings of a spirit. Besides, there was no gold on the top of a hill like that; and no human being would be so foolish as to camp up there on such a night, when there were plenty of comfortable houses at the foot of the hill. It was a spirit, a malignant spirit.

Suddenly the true explanation flashed into my brain, and I shocked my Indians by bursting into a roar of laughter. In imagination I could see him so plainly; John Muir, wet but happy, feeding his fire with spruce sticks, studying and enjoying the storm! But my natives always eyed Muir askance, as a mysterious being whose ways and motives were beyond all conjecture.

"Why does this strange man go into the wet woods and up the mountains on stormy nights; why does he wander alone on barren peaks or on dangerous ice mountains? There is no gold up there, and he never takes a gun with him or a pick. *Icta mamook* [what make]? Why—why?"

The first week in October saw the culmination of plans long and eagerly discussed. Almost the whole of the Alexandrian Archipelago, that great group of eleven hundred wooded islands that forms the southeastern cup-handle of Alaska, was at that time a *terra incognita*. The only seaman's chart of the region in existence was that made by the great English navigator Vancouver in 1807.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It was a wonderful chart, considering what an absurd little sailing vessel he had in which to explore those intricate waters with their treacherous winds and tides.

But Vancouver's chart was only hastily made, after all, in a land of fog and rain and snow. He had not the modern surveyor's instruments, boats, or other helps. And, besides, that region was changing more rapidly than any other part of the globe. Volcanic islands were being born out of the depths of the ocean; landslides were filling up channels between the islands; the tides and rivers were opening new passages and closing old ones; and, more than all, those mightiest tools of the great Engineer, the glaciers, were furrowing valleys, dumping millions of tons of silt into the sea, forming islands, promontories, and isthmuses, and by their recession letting the sea into deep and long fiords, forming great bays, inlets, and passages that did not exist in Vancouver's time. In certain localities the living glacier stream was breaking off bergs so fast that the resultant bays were lengthening a mile or more each year. Where Vancouver saw only a great crystal wall across the sea we were to paddle for days up a long and sinuous fiord; and where he saw one glacier we were to find a dozen.

My mission in the proposed voyage of discovery was to locate and visit the tribes and villages of Thlingets to the north and west of Wrangell, to take their census, confer with their chiefs, and report upon their condition with a view to establishing schools and churches among them. The most of these tribes had never had a visit from a missionary, and I felt the eager zeal of an Eliot or a Martin at the prospect of telling them for the first time the Good News. Muir's mission was to find and study the forests, mountains, and glaciers. We each had a keen interest in the other's quest, and never did companions complement each other more perfectly.

But Muir's knowledge of nature and his insight into her plans and methods were so far beyond mine that, while I was organizer and commander of the expedition, he was my teacher and guide as to the inner secrets and meanings of the islands, bays, and mountains that we explored together.

Our ship for this voyage of discovery, while not so large as Vancouver's, was much more shapely and manageable—a six *etlan* (six fathom) red cedar canoe. It belonged to our captain, old Chief Tow-a-att, our Christian chief, one of the simplest and bravest souls I ever knew. He fully expected to meet a martyr's death among his heathen enemies of the northern islands, but did not shrink from the voyage on that account.

His crew numbered three. First in importance was Kadishan, also a chief of the Stickeens, chosen because of his powers of oratory, his kinship with Chief Shat-hitch, of the Chilcat tribe, and his friendly relations with other chiefs. He was a born courtier, learned in Indian lore, songs, and customs, and able to instruct me in the proper Thlinget etiquette to suit all occasions. The other two were sturdy young men—Stickeen John, our interpreter, and Sitka Charley. They were to act as cooks, camp-makers, oarsmen, hunters, and general utility men.

We stowed our baggage, which was not burdensome, in one end of the canoe, taking a simple store of provisions, flour, beans, bacon, sugar, salt, and a little dried fruit. We were to depend upon our guns, fish-hooks, spears, and clam-sticks for our animal diet. As a preliminary to our palaver with the natives we followed the old Hudson Bay custom, then firmly established in the north; we took materials for a *potlatch*—leaf tobacco, rice, and sugar. Our Indian crew laid in their own stock of provisions, chiefly dried salmon and seal grease, while our table was to be separate, set out with the white man's viands.

At noon one sunny October day we set our prow towards the unknown northwest. Our hearts beat high with anticipation. Every passage between the islands was a corridor leading into a new and more enchanting room of nature's great gallery. The lapping waves whispered enchanting secrets; the sea-birds screaming overhead and the eagles shrilling from the sky promised wonderful adventures.

The voyage naturally divides itself into the human interest and the study of nature, and yet the two constantly blended throughout the whole trip. I can select only a few instances from that voyage of six weeks whose every hour was new and strange.

The weather during almost the whole voyage was wet and stormy, the sunny days so rare that we hailed them with delight.

We steered our course due westward for forty miles, then through a sinuous, island-studded passage called Rocky Strait, stopping one day to lay in a supply of venison before sailing on to the village of the Kake

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Indians. My habit throughout the voyage was to find where the head chief lived, feed him with rice and regale him with tobacco, and then induce him to call his chiefs and head men together for a council. When they were all assembled, I would give small presents of tobacco to each, and then open the floodgate of talk, proclaiming my mission and telling them in simplest terms the great new story. Muir would generally follow me, unfolding some of the wonders of God's handiwork and the beauty of clean, pure living, and then in turn, beginning with the head chief, each Indian would make his speech. We were received with joy everywhere, and if there was suspicion at first, old Tow-a-att's tearful pleadings and Kadishan's oratory would bring about peace and unity.

These palavers often lasted all day and far into the night, and usually ended with our being feasted in turn by the chief in whose house we had held the council.

I took the census of each village, getting the heads of the families to count their relatives with the aid of beans—the large brown beans representing men, the large white ones women, and the small Boston beans children; and thus I took the first census ever taken of southeastern Alaska.

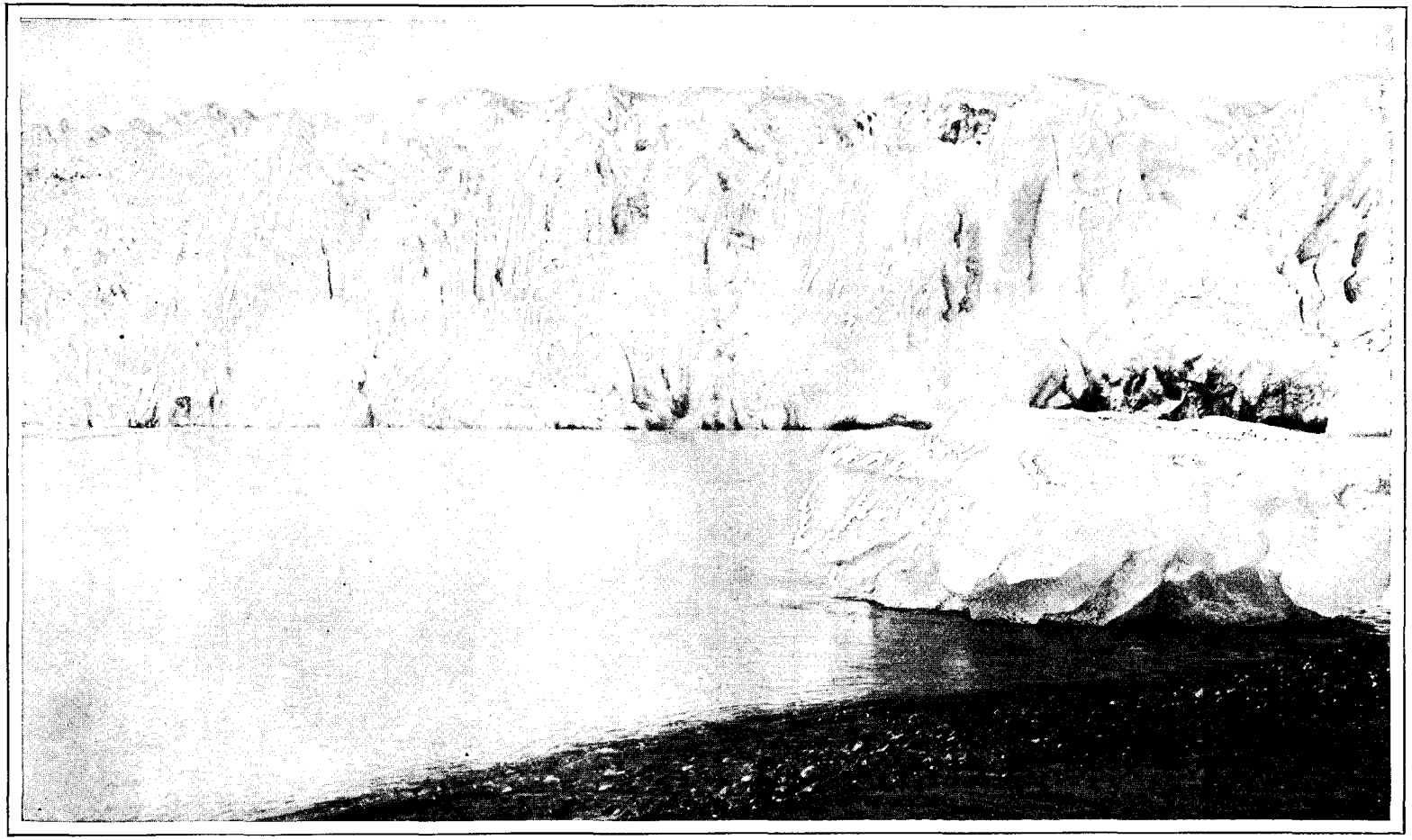
This incident occurred at one of the Kake towns on Kouyou Island. We had heard before starting on the voyage that there was a Harvard graduate bearing an honored New England name living among the Kake Indians. We inquired for the white man. We were told that he was camping with the family of a sub-chief at the mouth of a salmon stream. We set off to find him. As we neared the shore we saw a circular group of natives around a fire on the beach, sitting on their heels in the stoical Indian way. We landed and came up to the group. Indian-like, not one of them deigned to rise or show any excitement at our coming. The eight or nine Indian men who formed the circle were all dressed in colored four-dollar blankets, with the exception of one, who had on a ragged fragment of a filthy, once white, cheap two-dollar Hudson Bay blanket. The back of this figure was towards us, and, after speaking to the chief, Muir and I crossed to the other side of the fire, facing the figure. It was the *white man*, and the ragged blanket was all the clothing he had upon him. An effort to open conversation with him proved futile. He answered only with grunts and mumbled monosyllables; the most filthy, degraded, hopelessly lost savage that we found in this whole voyage, and yet a college graduate of great New England stock!

"Lift a stone," said Muir, "to mountain height and let it fall; it will sink the deeper into the mud."

At Angoon, one of the towns of the Hootz-noo tribe, occurred a human incident of another type. We found this village hilariously drunk. There was a very strict prohibition law extended over Alaska at that time, which absolutely forbade the importation of any spirituous liquors into the Territory. But the law was deficient in one vital respect—it did not prohibit the importation of molasses; and a soldier during the military occupancy of the Territory had instructed the natives in the art of making rum. The method was simple: Take a five-gallon kerosene-oil can and partly fill it with molasses as a base, then into that put alcohol, if it can be obtained, rotten apples, berries, potatoes, flour, anything that will rot and ferment; and to give it the proper tang add ginger, cayenne pepper, and mustard. Set this mixture in a warm place to ferment. Cut up another oil can into long strips, melt out the solder, and use it to make a pipe; with two or three turns through cool water—there you have your worm and your still. Talk about forty-rod whisky—I have seen this "hooch," as it was called because these same Hootz-noo natives first made it, kill at more than forty rods, for it generally made the natives *fighting* drunk.

Through the large company of screaming, dancing, and singing natives we made our way to the chief's house. This majestic-looking savage, by some miracle, was sober. Perhaps he felt it incumbent upon him as host not himself to partake of the luxuries with which he regaled his guests. He took us hospitably into his great community house of split cedar planks, with carved totem-poles for corner posts, and called his young men to take care of our canoe and to bring wood for a fire that he might feast us. The wife of this chief was one of the finest-looking Indian women I have ever seen, tall, straight, lithe, and dignified. But crawling about on the floor on all fours was the most piteous travesty of the human form I have ever seen. It was an idiot boy sixteen years of age. He had neither the comeliness of a beast nor the intellect of a man. His name was Hootz-too (Bear-heart), and indeed all his motions were those of a bear rather than a human being. Crossing the floor with the swinging gait of

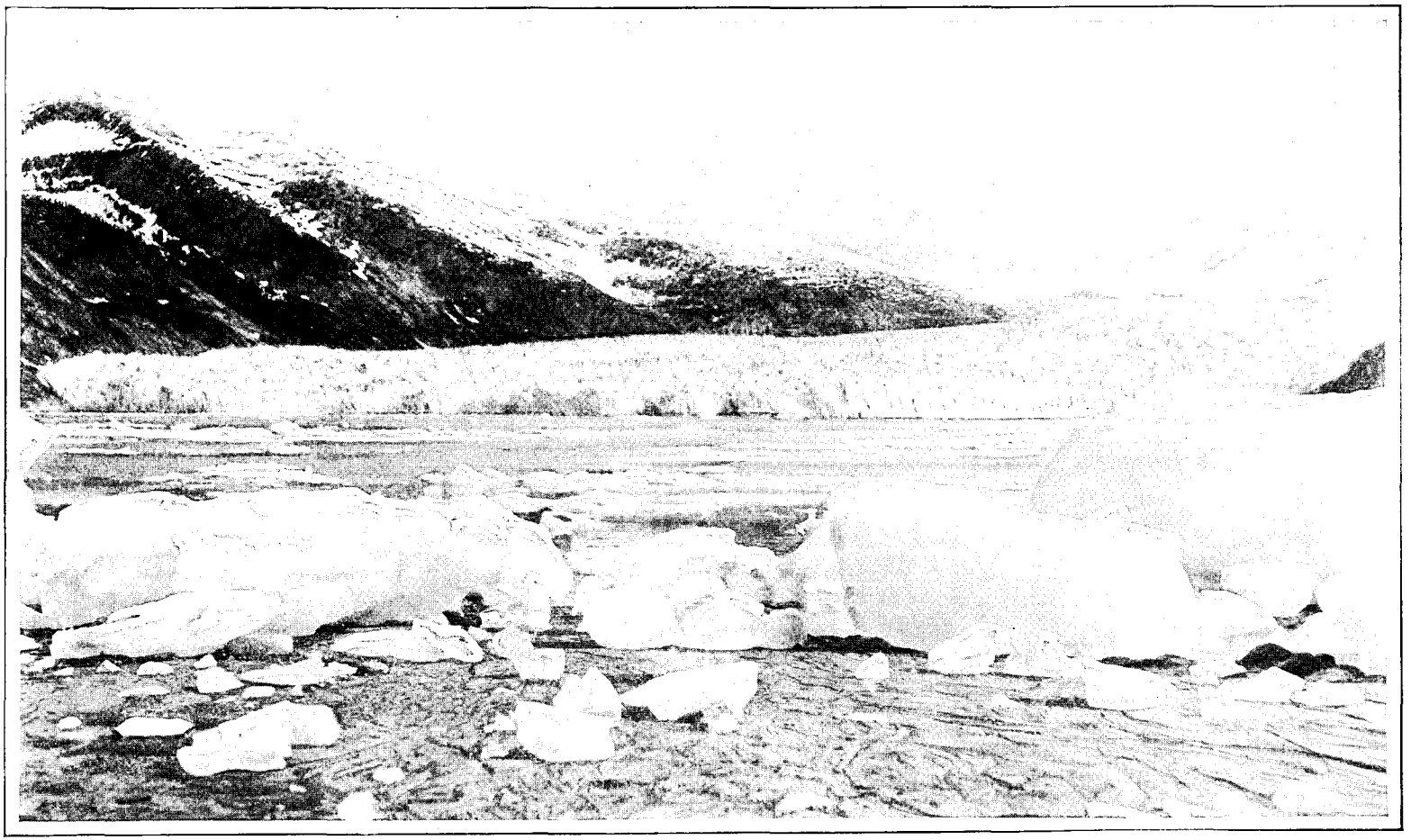
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



MUIR GLACIER

" Returning down the bay, we passed the largest glacier of all, which was to bear Muir's name "

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



COPYRIGHT BY W. K. CASE

TAHKOO GLACIER

"We made an excursion into Tahkoo Bay, with its three living glaciers"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a bear, he would crouch back on his haunches and resume his constant occupation of sucking his wrist, into which he had thus drawn a livid hole. When disturbed at this horrid task, he would strike with the claw-like fingers of the other hand, snarling and grunting.

Yet the beautiful chieftainess was his mother, and she loved him. For sixteen years she had cared for this monster, feeding him with her choicest food, putting him to sleep always in her arms, taking him with her, and guarding him day and night. When, a short time before our visit, the medicine-men had proclaimed him a witch, accusing him of causing the illness of some of the head men of the village, and the whole tribe came to take and torture him to death, she fought them like a lioness, not counting her own life dear unto her, and saved her boy. When I said to her, thoughtlessly, "Oh, would you not be relieved at the death of this poor idiot boy?" she saw in my words a threat, and I shall never forget the pathetic, hunted look with which she said in reply:

"Oh, no, it must not be; he shall not die! Is he not my son, *uh-yeet-kutsku* [my dear little son]?"

If our voyage had yielded me nothing but this wonderful instance of mother-love, I should have counted myself richly repaid.

One more human story before I come to Muir's part. It was during the latter half of the voyage, and after our discovery of Glacier Bay. The climax of the trip, so far as the missionary part was concerned, was our visit to the Chilcat and Chilcoot natives on Lynn Canal, the most northern tribes of the Alexandrian Archipelago. Here reigned the proudest and worst old savage of Alaska, Chief Shat-hitch. His wealth was very gre. in Indian treasures, and he was reputed to have cached away in different places several houses full of blankets, guns, boxes of beads, ancient carved pipes, spears, knives, and other valued heirlooms. He was said to have over one hundred of the elegant Chilcat blankets woven by hand from the hair of the mountain goat. His tribe were rich and unscrupulous. They were the middle-men between the whites and the Indians of the interior. They did not allow these Indians to come to the coast, but took over the mountains articles purchased from the whites—guns, ammunition, blankets, knives, and so forth—and bartered them for furs. It was even said that they claimed to be the manufacturers of these wares and charged for them what prices they pleased. They had these Indians of the interior in a bondage of fear, and would not allow them to trade directly with the white men. Thus they carried out literally the story told of Hudson Bay traffic—piling beaver skins to the height of a ten-dollar Hudson Bay musket for the price of the musket. They were the most quarrelsome and warlike of the tribes of Alaska, and their villages were full of slaves procured by forays upon the coasts of Vancouver Island, Puget Sound, and as far south as the mouth of the Columbia River. I was eager to visit these large and untaught tribes and establish a mission among them.

About the first of November we came in sight of the large, low-built village of Yin-des-tuk-ki. As we paddled up the winding channel of the Chilcat River we saw great excitement in the village. We had hoisted the American flag, as was our custom, and had put on our best apparel for the occasion. When we got within long musket shot of the village, we saw the native men come rushing from their houses with their guns in their hands and mass in front of the largest house upon the beach. Then we were greeted by what we thought was too warm a reception—a shower of bullets falling unpleasantly around us. Instinctively Muir and I ceased to paddle, but Tow-a-att commanded, "*Ut-ha, ut-ha!*" (Pull, pull!) and slowly, amid the dropping bullets, we zigzagged our way up the channel towards the village. As we came near the shore a line of runners extended themselves down the beach to us, keeping within shouting distance of each other. Then came the questions: "*Gusu-wa-eh?*" (Who are you? Whence do you come? What is your business here?) And Stickeen John shouted in reply:

"A great preacher chief and a great ice chief have come to bring you a good message."

The answer was shouted along the line, and then came back a message of greeting and welcome. We were to be the guests of the chief of the Yin-des-tuk-ki, old Don-na-wuk (silver eye), so called because he was in the habit of wearing on all state occasions a huge pair of silver-bowed spectacles which a Russian officer had given him. He confessed he could not see out of them, but thought they lent dignity to his countenance. We paddled slowly up to the village, and Muir and I, watching with interest, saw the warriors all

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

disappear. As our prow touched the sand, however, here they came, forty or fifty of them, without their guns this time, but charging down upon us with war-cries, "*Hoo-hooh hoo-hooh!*" as if they were going to take us prisoners. Dashing into the water, they ranged themselves along each side of the canoe; then, lifting up our canoe with us in it, they rushed with excited cries up the bank to the chief's house and set us down at his door. It was the Thlinget way of paying us honor as distinguished guests.

Then we were solemnly ushered into the presence of Don-na-wuk. His house was large, covering about fifty by sixty feet of ground. The interior was built in the usual fashion of a chief's house: carved corner posts; a square of gravel in the center of the room for the fire, surrounded by great hewn cedar planks set on edge; a platform of some six feet in width running clear around the room; then other planks on edge and a high platform, where the chieftain's household goods were stowed and where the family took their repose. A brisk fire was burning in the middle of the room; and after a short palaver, with gifts of tobacco and rice to the chief, it was announced that he would pay us the distinguished honor of feasting us first.

It was a never-to-be-forgotten banquet. We were seated on the lower platform with our feet towards the fire, and before Muir and me were placed huge wash-bowls of blue Hudson Bay ware. Before each of our native attendants was placed a great carved wooden trough, holding about as much as the big wash-bowls. We had learned enough of Indian etiquette to know that at each course our respective vessels were to be filled full of food, and we were expected to carry off what we could not devour.

It was indeed a "feast of fat things." The first course was what takes the place of bread as used by the whites—dried salmon. It was served, a whole wash-bowlful for each of us, with a dressing of seal grease. Muir and I adroitly maneuvered so as to get our salmon and seal grease served separately, for our stomachs had not been sufficiently trained to endure that rancid grease. This course finished, what was left was dumped into receptacles in our canoe and guarded from the dogs by young men especially appointed for that purpose. Our wash-bowls were cleansed and the second course brought on. This consisted of the back fat of the deer, great long hunks of it, served with a gravy of seal grease. The third course was little Russian potatoes about the size of walnuts, dished out to us, a wash-bowlful, with a dressing of seal grease. The final course was the only berry then in season, the long fleshy apple of the wild rose mellowed with frost, served to us in the usual quantity with the invariable sauce of seal grease!

When we had partaken of as much of this feast of fat things as our civilized stomachs would stand, it was suddenly announced that we were about to receive a visit from the great chief of the Chilcats and the Chilcoots, old Chief Shat-hitch (Hard-to-kill). In order properly to receive his Majesty, Muir and I and our two chiefs were each given a whole bale of Hudson Bay blankets as our couch. Shat-hitch made us wait a long time, doubtless to impress us with his dignity as supreme chief.

The heat of the fire after the wind and cold of the day made us very drowsy. We fought off sleep, however, and at last in came stalking the biggest chief of all Alaska, clothed in his robe of state, which was an elegant chinchilla blanket; and upon its yellow surface, as the chief slowly turned about to show us what was written, we were astonished to see printed in black letters these words, "To Chief Shat-hitch, from his friend *William H. Seward*." We learned afterwards that Seward in his voyage of investigation had penetrated to this far-off town, had been received in royal state by the old chief, and on his return to the States had sent back this token of his appreciation of the chief's hospitality. Whether Seward was regaled with the same viands offered to us history does not relate.

But the, to me, inspiring part of that voyage came next day, when I preached from early morning until midnight, only occasionally relieved by Muir and by the responsive speeches of the natives.

"More, more; tell us more!" they would cry. "It is a good talk; we never heard this story before." And when I would inquire, "Of what do you wish me now to talk?" they would always say, "Tell us more of the Man from Heaven who died for us."

Runners had been sent to the Chilcoot village on the eastern arm of Lynn Canal, and twenty-five miles up the Chilcat River to Shat-hitch's town of Klukwan, and as the day wore away the crowd of Indians had increased so greatly that there was no room for them in the large house. I heard a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

scrambling upon the roof, and, looking up, I saw a row of black heads around the great smoke-hole in the center of the roof. After a little a ripping, tearing sound came from the sides of the building; they were prying off the planks in order that those outside might hear. When my voice faltered with long talking, Tow-a-att and Kadishan took up the story, telling what they had learned of the white man's religion. It was only when I pleaded exhaustion that they consented to let us go to sleep. This was the beginning of the large missions of Haines and Klukwan.

The nature-study part of the voyage was woven in with the missionary trip as intimately as warp with woof. No island, rock, forest, mountain, or glacier which we passed, near or far, was neglected. We went so at our own sweet will, without any set time or schedule, that we were constantly finding objects and points of surprise and interest. When we landed, the algæ which sometimes filled the little harbors, the limpets and lichens on the rocks, the fucus-pods that snapped beneath our feet, the grasses of the beach, the moss and shrubbery among the trees, and, more than all, the majestic forests, claimed attention and study. Muir was one of the most expert foresters this country has ever produced. He was never at a loss. The luxuriant vegetation of this wet coast filled him with admiration, and he never took a walk from camp but he had a whole volume of things to tell me, and he was constantly bringing in trophies of which he was prouder than any hunter of his antlers. Now it was a bunch of ferns as high as his head; now a branch of spruce-cones; now a cluster of minute and wonderfully beautiful moss blossoms; now a curious fungus growth; and again he would call me into the forest to see a strange and grotesque moss formation on a dead stump, looking like a tree standing upon its head. Thus, although his grand objective was the glaciers, his thorough knowledge of botany and his interest in that study made every camp just the place he wished to be. He always claimed that there was more of pure ethics, and even of moral evil and good, to be learned in the wilderness than from any book or in any abode of man. He was fond of quoting Wordsworth's stanza:

> "One impulse from a vernal wood
> Will teach you more of man,
> Of moral evil and of good,
> Than all the sages can."

Muir was a devout theist. Of certain common Christian beliefs, such as the immortality of the soul and the atonement of Christ, while he did not reject them, he said, "I am holding these for future investigation." I believe he cleared up all doubts concerning these doctrines and came out into clear faith before his death, as certain expressions in his later letters to me seemed to indicate. But always the fatherhood of God and the unity of God, the immanence of God in nature and his management of all the affairs of the universe, was Muir's constantly reiterated belief. He saw design in many things which the ordinary naturalist overlooks, such as the symmetry of an island, the balancing branches of a tree, the harmony of colors in a group of flowers, the completion of a fully rounded landscape. In his view, the Creator of it all saw every beautiful and sublime thing from every view-point, and had thus formed it, not merely for his own delight, but for the delectation and instruction of his human and other children.

Thus Muir was always discovering to me things which I would never have seen myself, and opening up to me new avenues of knowledge, delight, and adoration. There was something so intimate in his theology that it purified, elevated, and broadened mine, even when I could not agree with him. His constant exclamation when, on turning a point, a wonderful landscape would burst upon our view, or a shaft of light would pierce the clouds and glorify a mountain, was, "Praise God from whom all blessings flow!"

Two or three great adventures stand out prominently in this wonderful voyage of discovery. Two weeks from home brought us to Icy Straits and the homes of the Hoonah tribe. Here the knowledge of our way on the part of our crew ended. We put into the large Hoonah village on Chichagoff Island. After the usual preaching and census-taking we took aboard a sub-chief of the Hoonahs who was a noted seal hunter, and therefore able to guide us among the ice-floes of the mysterious Glacier Bay of which we had heard. Vancouver's chart gave us no intimation of any inlet whatever; but the natives told of vast masses of floating ice, of a constant noise of thunder, and also of fearsome bays and passages full of evil spirits which made it very perilous to navigate. In one bay there was said to be a giant devil-fish with arms as long as a tree, lurking in malignant patience, awaiting the passage that way

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CHILCAT WOMAN WEAVING A BLANKET

"The climax of the trip was our visit to the Chilcat natives on Lynn Canal. Here reigned the proudest and worst old savage of Alaska, Chief Shat-hitch. His wealth was very great in Indian treasures. . . . He was said to have over one hundred of the elegant Chilcat blankets woven by hand from the hair of the mountain goat"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of our unwary canoe, when up would come those terrible arms with their thousand suckers, and, seizing us, would drag us down to the bottom of the sea, there to be mangled and devoured by the horrid beak. Another deep fiord was the abode of Koosta-kah, the Otterman, the mischievous Puck of Indian lore, who was waiting for us to land and camp, when he would seize our sleeping forms and transport us a dozen miles in a moment, or hang us up on the tops of the highest trees. Again, there was a most rapacious and ferocious killer-whale in a piece of swift water, whose delight it was to take into his great tooth-rimmed jaws whole canoes with their crews of men, crushing them and gulping them down as a single mouthful. Many were these stories of fear told us at the Hoonah village the night before we started to explore the icy bay, and our credulous Stickeens gave us rather broad hints that it was time to turn back.

"There are no natives up in that region; there is nothing to hunt; there is no gold there; why do you persist in this *cultus coly* [aimless journey]? You are likely to meet death and nothing else if you go into that dangerous region."

All these stories made us the more eager to explore the wonders beyond. At Pleasant Island, so named by us, our guide said as we broke camp in the morning, "We must take on board a supply of dry wood here, as there is none beyond." Leaving this last green island, we steered northwest into the Great Bay, the country of ice and bare rocks. Muir's excitement was increasing every moment; and as the majestic arena opened before us and the Muir, Geicke, Pacific, and other great glaciers, then nameless, began to appear, he could hardly contain himself. He was impatient of any delay and was constantly calling to the crew to redouble their efforts and get close to these wonders.

Now the marks of recent glaciation began to appear. Here was a conical island of gray granite whose rounded top and symmetrical shoulders were worn smooth as a Scotch monument by grinding glaciers. Here was a great mountain slashed sheer across its face and showing sharp edge and flat surface, as if a slab of mountain size had been sawed from it. Yonder again loomed a granite range whose huge breasts were rounded and polished by the resistless sweep of that great ice-mass which Vancouver saw filling the bay. Soon the icebergs were all running past or charging down upon us with the ebb tide, and dressing up in compact phalanx with the flood. First came the advance-guard of smaller bergs, with here and there a house-like mass of cobalt blue with streaks of white and deeper recesses of ultramarine; here we passed an eight-sided solid figure of bottle-green ice; there towered an antlered formation like the horns of a stag.

Now we must use all caution and give the larger icebergs a wide berth. They are treacherous creatures, these icebergs; you may be paddling along by a peaceful-looking berg sleeping on the water as mild and harmless as a lamb, when suddenly he will take a notion to turn over, and up under your canoe will come a spearhead of ice impaling it and lifting it and its occupants skyward; then, turning over, down will go canoe and men to the depths.

Our progress up the sixty miles of Glacier Bay was very slow. Three nights we camped on the bare granite rock before we reached the head of the bay. All vegetation had disappeared; hardly a bunch of grass was seen. The only signs of former life were the sodden and splintered stumps that projected here and there from the bases of huge gravel heaps, the moraine matter of the mighty ice mass that had engulfed them. When we landed, there were no level spots on which to pitch our tent, and no sandy beaches or gravel beds in which to sink our tent-poles. Rain was falling almost constantly during the week we spent in Glacier Bay. Now and then the clouds would lift, showing the majestic summits of Mount Fairweather, Crillon, and the twin peaks of La Perouse. These mighty summits, twelve thousand, fifteen thousand, and sixteen thousand feet high, pierced the sky directly above us; sometimes they seemed to be hanging over us threateningly.

We passed by the Muir Glacier on the other side of the bay, seeking to attain the extreme end of the great fiord. We estimated the distance by the tide and our rate of rowing, tracing the shore-line and islands as we went along, and getting the points of the compass from our little pocket instrument.

Only once did the sky completely clear, and then was preached to us the wonderful sermon of Glacier Bay. Early that morning we quitted our camp on a barren rock, steering towards Mount Fairweather. A night of sleepless discomfort had ushered in a bleak, gray morning. Our Indians were sullen and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

silent, their scowling looks resenting our relentless purpose to attain to the head of the bay. The air was damp and raw, chilling us to the marrow. The forbidding granite mountains showing here and there through the fog seemed suddenly to push out threatening fists and shoulders at us. All night long the ice guns had bombarded us from four or five directions, when the great masses of ice from living glaciers toppled into the sea, crashing and grinding with the noise of thunder. The granite walls hurled back the sound in reiterated peals, multiplying its volume a hundredfold. There was no *love* apparent on that bleak, gray morning; *power* was there in appalling force. Visions of those evergreen forests that had once clung trustingly to these mountain walls, but had been swept, one and all, by the relentless forces of the ice and buried deep in mountains of moraine matter, only added to the present desolation. We could not enjoy, we could only endure. Death from overturning icebergs, from charging tides, from mountain avalanche, threatened us.

Suddenly I heard Muir catch his breath with a fervent ejaculation. Following his gaze towards Mount Crillon, I saw the summit highest of all crowned with glory indeed! It was not sunlight; there was no appearance of shining; it was as if the Great Artist with one sweep of his brush had laid upon the king peak of all a crown of the most brilliant of all colors. It was as if a pigment, perfectly made and thickly spread, too delicate for crimson, too intense for pink, had leaped in a moment upon the mountain top—"an awful rose of dawn." The summit nearest heaven had caught a glimpse of its glory! It was a rose blooming in ice-fields, a love song in the midst of a stern epic, a drop from the heart of Christ upon the icy desolation and barren affections of a sin-frozen world. It warmed and thrilled us in an instant. We who had been dull and apathetic a moment since, shivering in our wet blankets, were glowing and exultant now. Even the Indians ceased their paddling, gazing with faces of awe upon the wonder.

Now as we watched that kingly peak we saw the color leap to one and another and another of the snowy summits around it. The monarch had a whole family of royal princes now to share his glory. Their radiant heads, ruby crowned, were above the clouds which seemed to form their silken garments.

As we watched in ecstatic silence, we saw the light creep down the mountains. It was changing now. The glowing crimson was suffused with soft, creamy light. If it was less divine, it was more warmly human. Heaven was coming down to man. The dark recesses of the mountains began to be revealed. They stood forth as at the word of command from the Master of all; and as the changing mellow light moved downward, that wonderful colosseum appeared with its battlements and peaks and columns until the whole majestic landscape was revealed.

Now we saw the design and purpose of it all. Now the text of this great sermon was emblazoned across the landscape, "God is love," and we understood clearly that these relentless forces which had pushed the molten mountains heavenward, cooled them into granite peaks, covered them with snow and ice, shaped them by glaciers, dumped the moraine matter into the sea, filling up the sea, preparing the world for—who knows?—a stronger and better race of men, were all a part of that great "all things" that "work together for good."

Our minds cleared with the landscape; our courage rose; our Indians dipped their paddles silently, steering without fear amid the dangerous masses of ice. And there was no profanity in Muir's exclamation, "We have met with God!" A lifelong devoutness of gratitude filled us to think that we were guided into this most wonderful room of God's great gallery on perhaps the only day in the year when the skies were cleared and the sunrise, the atmospheric conditions, and the point of view all prepared for the matchless spectacle. The discomforts of the voyage, the toil, the cold and rain of the past weeks were a small price to pay for one glimpse of its surpassing loveliness.

Two or three inspiring days followed. Muir must climb the most accessible of the mountains. My weak shoulders forbade me to ascend more than two or three thousand feet, but Muir went more than twice as high. Upon three or four of the glaciers he climbed, although the speed of these icy streams was so great and their "frozen cataracts" so frequent that it was difficult to ascend them.

I began to understand Muir's whole new theory whose discovery made Tyndall pronounce him the greatest authority on glacial action that the world had seen. He pointed out to me the mechanical laws that governed those slow-moving but resistless streams; how they carved their own valleys; how the lower

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

valley and glacier were often the resultant of the size and velocity of the two or three glaciers that now formed its branches; how the harder strata of rock resisted and turned the masses of ice; how the steely plowshares were often inserted into softer leads and a whole mountain split apart as by a wedge.

Muir would explore all day long, often rising hours before daylight and disappearing among the mountains, not coming to camp until night had fallen. Again and again the Indians said that he was lost; but I had no fears for him. When he would return to camp, he was so full of his discoveries and of the new facts garnered that he would talk until long into the night, almost forgetting to eat.

Returning down the bay, we passed the largest glacier of all, which was to bear Muir's name. It was then fully a mile and a half in width, and the perpendicular face of it towered from four to seven hundred feet above the surface of the water. The ice masses were breaking off so fast that we were forced to put off far from the face of the glacier. The great waves threatened constantly to dash us against the sharp points of the icebergs. We wished to land and scale the glacier from the eastern side. We rowed our canoe about half a mile from the edge of the glacier, but, attempting to land, were forced hastily to put off again. A great wave formed by the masses of ice breaking off into the water threatened to dash our loaded canoe against the boulders on the beach. Rowing farther away, we tried it again and again, with the same result. As soon as we would near the shore another huge wave would threaten destruction. We were fully a mile and a half from the edge of the glacier before we found it safe to land. Muir spent a whole day alone on the glacier, walking over twenty miles across what he called the glacial lake between two mountains.

But scurries of snow warned us that winter was coming, and, much to the relief of our natives, we turned the prow of our canoe towards Chatham Strait again. Landing our Hoonah guide at his village, we took our route northward up Lynn Canal. The beautiful Davidson Glacier, with its great snowy fan, drew our gaze and excited our admiration for two days; then the visit to the Chilcats and the return trip commenced. Bowling down the canal before a strong north wind, we entered Stevens' Passage, and visited the two villages of the Auk Indians, a squalid, miserable tribe. We camped at what is now Juneau, the capital of Alaska, and no dream of the millions of gold that were to be taken from those mountains disturbed us. If we had known, I do not think that we would have halted a day or staked a claim. Our treasures were greater than gold and securely laid up in the vaults of our memories. After this there followed an excursion into Tahkoo Bay, that miniature of Glacier Bay, with its then three living glaciers; a visit to two villages of the Tahkoo Indians; past Fort Snettishan, up whose arms we pushed, mapping them; then to Sumdum. Here the two arms of Holkham Bay filled with ice enticed us to exploration, but the constant rains of the fall had made the ice of the glaciers more viscid and the glacier streams more rapid; hence the vast array of icebergs, charging down upon us like an army, spreading out in loose formation and then gathering into a barrier when the tide turned, made exploration to the end of the bay impossible. Muir would not give up his quest of the mother glacier until the Indians frankly refused to go any farther, and old Tow-a-att called our interpreter Johnny as for a council of state, and carefully set forth to Muir that if he persisted in his purpose of pushing forward up the bay he would have the blood of the whole party on his hands. Said the old chief:

"My life is of no account, and it does not matter whether I live or die; but you shall not sacrifice the life of my minister."

I laughed at Muir's discomfiture and gave the word to retreat. This one defeat of a victorious expedition so weighed upon Muir's mind that it brought him back from the California coast next year and from the arms of his bride to discover and climb upon that glacier.

On we went down through Prince Frederick Sound, past the beautiful Norris Glacier, then into Le Conte Bay with its living glacier and icebergs, across the Stickeen flats, and so joyfully home again, Muir to take the November steamboat back to his sunland.

I have made many voyages in that great Alexandrian Archipelago since, traveling by canoe over fifteen thousand miles—not one of them a dull one—through its intricate passages; but none compared, in the number and intensity of its thrills, in the variety and excitement of its incidents, and in its lasting impressions of beauty and grandeur, with this first voyage, when we groped our way northward with only Vancouver's old chart.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I AM WAR

BY ALTER BRODY

I am a pestilence
  Sweeping the world—
Hate is the root of me,
Death is the fruit of me,
  Swift is my stroke;
Blood is the sign of me,
Steel is the twine of me,
  Thus shall ye know me:
I am the death of Life,
I am the life of Death,
    I am War!

I am a madness
  Riding the necks of men—
Champing of nations armed,
Stamping of war-horse hoofs
  Charging unbridled;
Clashing of bayonets,
Flashing of sword-blades,
Rumbling of cannon-wheels,
Crumbling of kingdoms,
  These are my harbingers:
I am the death of Law,
I am the law of Death,
    I am War!

I am a harlot
  Seducing the nations;
Diplomats lie for me,
Patriots die for me,
  Lovers I lack not—
Cannon mouths speak of me,
Battlefields reek of me,
Widowed wives shriek of me,
  Cursing my name:
I am the death of Joy,
I am the joy of Death,
    I am War!

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE CECILIAN CHOIR

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WORSHIP AND MUSIC

BY THE REV. W. A. BARTLETT

THE five chorus choirs of the New First Congregational Church of Chicago would make in themselves a church two-fifths larger than the average church of that denomination. It is a church within a church, as practically all, except the youngest, in these choirs are members.

No other church of any denomination in this country, so far as I am aware, has such an equipment musically and devotionally.

If Martin Luther restored worship to its rightful place with the people, we have drifted back into a ritualistic formation which has largely removed it from the people and given it over again to the minister and the choir. The true ideal is that they should be the leaders in the service, so far as possible inspiring the people to join *with them* in worship to God.

A church service should be as carefully worked out as the progress of an opera or the programme of a symphony concert. The impressive parts in which the minister and choir engage alone are to be properly balanced with the expressive parts for all. The *motif* is to be as logically and artistically developed to a climax as in the most studied secular performance. Devotionally expressive parts, such as the Lord's Prayer, are better used at the close of the service, when the congregation wishes to voice its feelings, than at the beginning, when the repetition is perfunctory.

A notice read before the benediction is as out of place as to allow popcorn to be sold during the death scene in "La Traviata."

But all this requires care, co-operation, and technical knowledge on the part of minister and musical director. The seminaries must have a care that their students have a working knowledge of liturgics. The people should go from the house of God as if it had been to them the gate of heaven.

These five choirs in the Chicago church might be likened to a pyramid whose apex is a solo quartette. The six organizations form a nearly perfect leadership in worship.

It is to be noted that both the musical director and organist are members of the church, and in active service in other lines. Mr. H. Augustine Smith, the leader of the choirs, is also a professor in Chicago Seminary. The church recently gave him the proper title of "Minister of Music."

The material of which these choirs is composed is very like that in other cities. A large percentage of those over fourteen years of age are at work. To them the church is the real center of life, for in its services and carefully planned recreations they find nearly all the relaxation they desire.

These two hundred singers are "under the most exacting regulations and discipline," and they like it. Each of the choirs is a separate organization, with its own officers, time of rehearsal, and singing, and all are self-supporting. Not only that, but in 1913 these singers contributed $1,000 to church support and $200 in choir dues, and one-fourth of them paid out $500 in car-fare, as they came from all parts of the city. It would seem that the $1,000 spent on them for the summer camp was not a bad investment.

The singers are organized as follows: the Choral Union, a mixed choir of adults; the Treble Clef, a choir of young women; the Boy Choir; the Cecilian Choir of girls; and the Carol Choir of little girls. They have their distinctive vestments, which, with the exception of the Boy Choir, are modifications of the college gown. The Boy Choir wears the conventional Episcopal cassock and cotta.

Those who are studying this question will be interested in the five advantages of such garbing which Mr. Smith has found after years of experience. Vestments, he says, tend to eliminate all social differences within the choir, instill a loyalty and enthusiasm for the choir, destroy self-consciousness in singers, minimize the attention of the congregation to matters of dress, and deepen the singer's reverence for the house of God. That is also the verdict of the church and those of us who have served as ministers.

As it is practically impossible to assemble the five choirs at each service, they sing all together at one morning and one evening service each month. At other times they take turns or sing in different combinations, an effective one being the Choral Union with the Boy Choir. To accomplish this great amount of choral work nine rehearsals are held each week.

Each choir has its separate library of music and librarian. Even the youngest singers have responsibility from the first,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which accounts for much of the order and efficiency in method.

Take the last year as an illustration of the activities of the choirs. In the twelve months eighteen thousand singers entered the church to lead in worship. They gave sixteen free concerts in the church auditorium. Each performance was repeated to accommodate the crowds. An actual count made the number of hearers over fifty thousand. In addition to the church services and concerts the choirs were in frequent requisition at denominational clubs and ministerial and church associations, as well as musical and educational conventions.

There is nothing amateurish about the singing of even the least of these little ones; their expression represents the last word in training for that special age. I have heard that unsurpassed choral organization the Toronto Choir, accompanied by the Theodore Thomas Orchestra—a revelation in tone production. Yet one advantage which these church choirs have over the other is in *ensemble* singing, where there is the peculiar *timbre* resulting from different ages. The soprano tone produced by the boy of clear voice and the young girl differ from each other and from the tone of a woman. The combination is that of the different flute-like stops of the organ.

Then the class of music sung is an important factor. While there are glees and light music for all occasions, the serious work is concerned with the oratorios of "Elijah," "The Creation," and "Messiah;" "The Hymn of Praise," "Holy City," "Redemption," "Messe Solennelle," sung in Latin, Marzo's "The Whole Year Through," Vincent's "Japanese Girl," Manney's "The Resurrection," Busch's "Paul Revere's Ride," etc. They sing the best cantatas and hundreds of anthems, with many processionals and recessionals. Their repertory includes a great variety of Christmas, Passion, and Easter music. Many of these things have been committed to memory, and not the least impressive part of a service is seeing a small boy singing with the perfect abandon of youth without a word or note before him.

What is even more to the point, all these things are sung with such careful enunciation as to be perfectly understood. It is constantly impressed on these young people that they are giving a message; and that to give it effectively there must be a right condition of body, mind, and spirit.

If the truth must be told, much of the choir singing of the time is a travesty on worship, music, or art. For reasons which cannot be discussed in the present article, the churches are putting up with what often amounts to a grotesque performance which militates directly against the very purpose for which true worship exists.

Not the least suggestive is the psychological or religious influence of song on these singers themselves. That the worshipers are helped goes without the saying. No one with half a soul can look upon and listen to those singers unmoved. The very innocence and sweetness of youth, with its unconsciousness of self, is a large factor in the effective leadership. But the young people themselves are being developed through song as would be possible in no other way. What the Apostle Paul said about this was modernly scientific when he suggested to the Church that they "speak to one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs." For the utterance of self through song, with others, has a strange and most beneficent subjective effect. A minister who can make his people sing at a mid-week meeting—sing devotionally and feelingly—will perform for them a miracle of rest and restoration.

True singing is not necessarily a musical performance, but becomes a channel of expression; it can be prayer and remarks combined. Those who cannot utter correct musical intervals should be encouraged to sing. They can "make a joyful noise," as Mr. Beecher expressed it in urging his congregation to give voice to their emotions.

Singing includes deep inspiration and expiration; muscular action; increased circulation; joyous and intelligent interpretation—bringing smiles and tears.

Song is thus lifted to its rightful place of activity and accomplishment, and is not the ephemeral ornament that many suppose.

But these choirs are human; they like fun. Therefore the musical director is also leader in recreation. Each choir has its own time for suppers, entertainment, and gymnasium exercise. The participation in these good times depends somewhat upon previous faithfulness and good conduct.

The great incentive, however, is "Saugatuck." Saugatuck is the summer camping-place on the east shore of Lake Michigan, to which all the choirs go for at least ten days each. It forms the subject of limerick and yell. It is the happy resting-ground for over

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A GROUP OF CHOIR BOYS

AT THE SUMMER CAMP IN SAUGATUCK

THE REHEARSAL HOUR OF ONE OF THE GIRLS' CHOIRS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE CAROL CHOIR

One of the five choir organizations of the two hundred singers of the New First Congregational Church of Chicago

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

two hundred tired people. Even there the régime seems to be rigid; every camper is out of bed at six-thirty, and absolute quiet and darkness reign at ten at night. There is a schedule for everything through the day, from swimming twice to morning and evening prayer. Not a moment is wasted. There is that kind of restful activity which is particularly needed for young people, with the evenings given up to stunts that are as original as they are hilarious.

And always there are photographs taken by the director—photographs to be rejoiced in during the coming winter when Saugatuck is the subject of toast and song.

Not much is said about religion: they live it. The boys go hurrying to morning prayers and vespers with the same alacrity with which they greet the swimming hour. And they are just boys, with no abnormal tendencies to piety. But they like those short talks, right to the point, or the little poem or story. And they love to sing.

They find these simple and beautiful times of worship necessary for expression, when utterance can be given to the deeper joy that is in them.

The problem of Sunday is solved. After breakfast, morning prayer and Bible study, usually out of doors, comes the walk through the fragrant woods to the little chapel to sing to the summer people, who, though surfeited with city concerts and theaters, listen that morning as those who have made a discovery in the possibilities of worship.

In the afternoon is the open-air sacred concert, when hundreds come from "all the region round about" and sit, for the most part, on the ground under the trees in the natural amphitheater while the choirs sing to them. The only spoken word is the announcement of the selections, after each of which the choirs sit quietly without one whispered word or side glance to mar the impressive setting and occasion. The dignity of the performance reveals the possibilities of such singing. It has a suggestion of Oberammergau in the passion of devotional intensity.

On one of these occasions the head of a great department store that employs over nine thousand people heard the choirs for the first time. For years he had been interested in arranging the vacations of those in the store to come at the time of "Saugatuck." His voice trembled when he spoke of the effect of that singing on his own life. On the same occasion a famous pianiste was in the audience. She was hardly more than a child herself, but had played with the greatest orchestras of the world. I asked her if she was willing to break her summer rule and play to these young people. She hesitated before she heard the choirs sing. After that she said, with a smile, "Yes, I will play, because I know to whom I am playing."

It had not occurred to me that Chopin and Liszt and the rest had written for boys. But when I saw those artless little fellows sitting on the edge of their chairs while this young girl made Schumann, Grieg, Schubert, and even Bach talk to them, I had another thought coming to me about music and its interpretation.

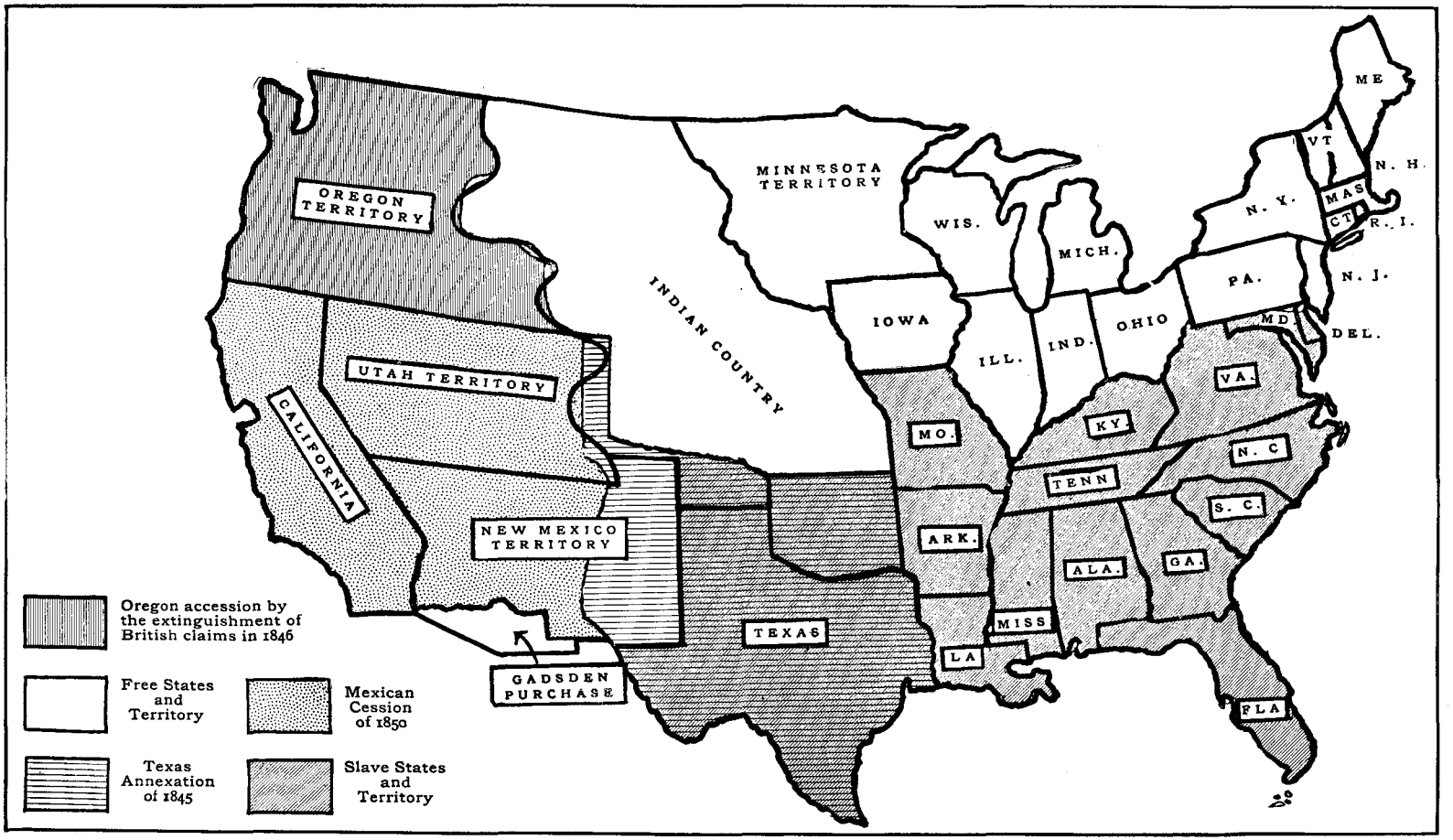
If we step into that great room at the back of the church that first morning of October when all the campers are transformed into vested singers, we see a body of youth whose eyes sparkle with health and delightful memories. The last low-voiced instructions have been given, for the voice is never raised in rehearsal, as all must be attent. The organist is playing his prelude, and the two hundred are about to enter, singing their committed processional.

"Before we go in we will have a word of prayer," says the leader. It is very brief and simple, and the hush would be almost oppressive if it were not for the far-away tones of the organ.

Then at a signal is heard the distant march, and the alert procession in black and white moves on—a singing church six times larger than my first parish. I have seen and heard the choir of Westminster Abbey pass down the aisle of that noble sanctuary, but they did not come with greater dignity or with sweeter song than these choirs in the heart of the city of Chicago, singing in full and measured tones "with absolute fidelity to pitch and rhythmic pattern"—

> "Come, then, let us hasten yonder!
> Here let all, great and small,
> Kneel in awe and wonder!
> Love Him who with love is yearning!
> Hail the Star, that from far
> Bright with hope is burning."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



THE UNITED STATES AS IT WAS IN DR. ABBOTT'S EARLY MANHOOD

In 1852, the year before Dr. Abbott graduated from college, the Great West was still largely in possession of the Indians; "beyond the Mississippi" was almost equivalent to the later phrase "in darkest Africa" in its suggestion of remoteness; the territory now comprising the States of New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, and California had been acquired from Mexico but two years previously; Texas had been in the Union only seven years; the boundaries of Oregon had been delimited by agreement with Great Britain only six years before and constituted a Territory (with slightly different boundaries) only four years before. The United States was "half slave, half free;" the planters of the South had votes in proportion to the number of their slaves; the "labor problem" was almost non-existent; the agitation for woman's suffrage was just beginning; the Civil War was yet to be fought. The country was still a nation of farmers; only about thirteen per cent of the population lived in towns or cities, while in 1910 nearly one-half of the population (46.3 per cent) was classed as urban. Daniel Webster and Henry Clay were still living, and Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas were just coming into National prominence; Henry Ward Beecher, Wendell Phillips, and William Lloyd Garrison were the chief

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

REMINISCENCES[1]

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

CHAPTER XVIII

A POLITICAL REVOLUTION

IN January, 1890, a dinner was tendered in New York to Mr. Henry George on the occasion of his departure for Australia, to which country he was going to conduct a campaign in favor of free trade and the single tax. From an address which I made at this dinner I make here some extracts, weaving them together, but retaining, in the main the phraseology of the address, which states as comprehensibly and briefly as perhaps anywhere they are stated the political principles which certainly for over thirty years I have maintained continuously, and, I think, in the main, consistently:

> We are believers in democracy. We believe in political democracy—that it is the right of the people to rule themselves, not because they are always competent to govern, but because they are more competent to govern themselves than any one else is to govern them, and because they will learn quicker by their blunders than by the wisdom of any aristocracy set over them. We believe in educational democracy. Because we believe in the capacity of the people for education we believe it is the duty of the Republic to open the way for all her citizens to all the education that is necessary for a large and noble citizenship. We believe also in a democracy of wealth. We believe in a commonwealth that really means what that noble word means, a wealth that is common. The problem of political economy in the past has been how to accumulate wealth; the problem in the future is how to distribute wealth. Therefore we believe in such a reform in taxation as will give us taxes on wealth, not on expenditure, and taxes direct, not indirect. We believe that capital and labor are partners, and that it is the right of labor to organize for their own protection and the enhancement of their wages. We believe that the people must control the corporations, not the corporations the people, and that the great highways of the Nation, its iron and steel muscles, and the electric wires of the Nation, its nerves, must be under the control, if not under the ownership, of the body politic. We do not believe that government is a necessary evil and the less we have of it the better. We have no wish to go back to a paternal government nor to go back of that to the barbarism of individualism. We look forward to a fraternal government in which the people shall have learned to do by their common will and their common industry the things that are for their common well-being. With me this belief is a religion. I hold that it is as infidel to deny the brotherhood of man as to deny the Fatherhood of God; and the first infidelity is far more common in this country than the second.

The reader will observe that in this address I speak, not of my belief, but of our belief. I thought it to be a true interpretation of a growing body of progressive democrats; and as the speech was continually punctured with applause, and as at the end three hearty cheers were called for by one of the guests and were heartily given, my opinion that I was interpreting the beliefs of others in stating my own was confirmed. Whatever service I have rendered to either the Church or the State by my utterances has been due, not to the fact that they were original and idiosyncratic, but to the fact that they interpreted to others, in definite form, opinions which they already held, but generally uncrystallized and unformulated. These principles have prevented me from *belonging* to any party, and have made it difficult sometimes for perfectly honest-minded critics to classify me. I have believed in anti-saloon legislation but have not been a Prohibitionist, in social reform but have not been a Socialist, in individual liberty but have not been a Democrat, in a strong centralized government but have

[1] Copyright, 1915, the Outlook Company.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not been a Republican, in political progress and social justice but have not been a Progressive. One exception to this statement is necessary: during the Civil War I was a Republican and probably always voted a straight Republican ticket, but when the war closed I left the party because of its reconstruction policy, and from that time on have been politically an independent.[1]

I should like to write a political history of the United States since 1876, when I began writing it from week to week in the pages of The Outlook. But I have not the leisure nor the temperament fitted for accurate historical research. All I can do here is to show how the principles defined at the Henry George dinner have been applied by me in the interpretation of some of the more important events during that period.

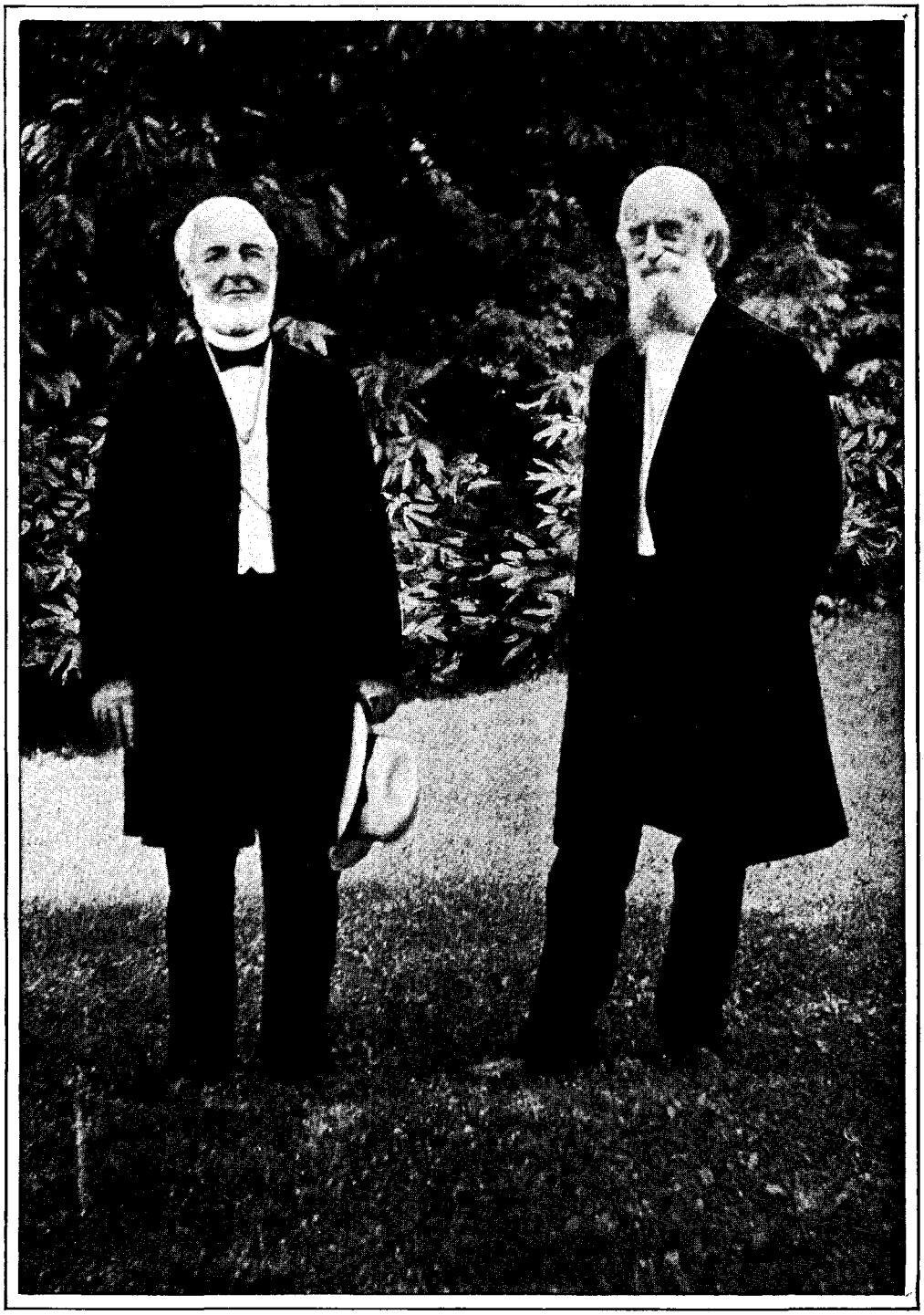
How my democratic sympathies led me to take a part in the movement for the emancipation of the slave, and afterwards in the work of reconstruction, I have told in previous chapters. I believed that the Negro is a man, not a chattel, and that he has an undeveloped capacity for self-government. But it was undeveloped, and slavery had done nothing to develop and much to repress this capacity. It seemed to me axiomatic that he who could not govern himself had no right to a share in governing others, and that before he could govern himself or others he must have some measure of education. I therefore gave a hearty support to the Blair Bill, introduced by Senator Blair into Congress for the purpose of giving Federal appropriations to public schools in the South and such measure of Federal supervision as would insure their promotion of the spirit of liberty and union. "The Republican party," I said, "could inaugurate no wiser measure than one appropriating a liberal amount to be expended in promoting a common school education in those States whose need is greatest and whose provision is least." This bill had the approval of Presidents Grant, Hayes, and Garfield, but was defeated by a combination of those who did not believe in the education of the Negro and those who did not believe that the Federal Government should deal with education in the States. The results of universal suffrage without universal education I need not here recall.

Later, when private benevolence undertook on a large scale the work which the Federal Government should have undertaken, I heartily approved and only wished that I could have more efficiently helped. My younger brother Edward, on a visit to the Capon Springs Hotel in West Virginia, suggested to the proprietor that he invite a series of conferences for a consideration of the problem of education in the South both for the Negroes and the mountaineers, analogous to the conferences held at Lake Mohonk for the Indians. Out of these conferences grew the Southern Educational Commission, in connection with which annual conferences were held in different Southern centers. Mr. Robert C. Ogden, with characteristic generosity, for several years provided a special train and invited a hundred guests or so to go with him to these meetings. How much this simple expedient did to interpret the North to the South, and, by the reports from his guests upon their return, to interpret the South to the North, no one can ever know. I attended and spoke at two of these Conferences, making at the Conference held at Richmond, Virginia, in 1903, the closing speech. The Opera-House was packed, half of the upper gallery being reserved for and occupied by Negroes—the first time, it was said, since the close of the Civil War that Negroes had ever been invited to attend any such meeting in the South. From a Southern report of my address I quote two sentences: "Manhood suffrage means manhood first and suffrage afterwards. . . . A thousand times nothing is still nothing, and if the individual man cannot govern himself, then a thousand men who cannot govern themselves as individuals fail to make a self-governing community."

For this speech I was denounced in the North as meaning to nullify all that had been gained by the Civil War, and President Cleveland and myself were classed together as "tiny tin weathercocks." On the other hand, I was vigorously commended by such journals as the New York "Tribune" and the Atlanta "Constitution." To these attacks my reply was a speech delivered in Boston before a joint meeting of the Orthodox and Unitarian Clubs, in which I heartily commended the suffrage amendments to their State Constitutions adopted by six of the Southern States. Of these amendments, popularly supposed in the North to be intended to deprive the Negro of his vote, I said: "Any man can vote, black or white, if

[1] In order to vote in the direct primary under the laws of the State of New York, I enrolled myself as a Progressive, but I none the less count myself an independent in politics.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



ALBERT K. SMILEY AND DR. ABBOTT AT LAKE MOHONK

"In the fall of 1883 Mr. Albert K. Smiley invited to a summer hotel at Lake Mohonk, in the Shawangunk Mountains, in New York State, a number of friends of the Indians to consider the Indian question. Mr. Smiley was a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners. . . . I began an agitation for the abandonment of the reservation system. . . . to allot to the Indians their land in severalty . . . with the purpose of making them as speedily as possible a part of our heterogeneous Nation"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he can read the English language, owns three hundred dollars' worth of property, and pays his poll tax." The first qualification indicated intelligence, the second thrift, the third loyalty, and I believed that it would have been well for the country if these conditions of suffrage had been adopted by all the States from colonial days.

I followed this address by another at Montclair, New Jersey, on the Fourth of July of the same year, which I devoted to a discussion of the race problem. In this address I demanded equality of legal rights and industrial opportunity for both races, and condemned intermarriage as injurious to both races and fatal to the community, and I defined the race question as follows: How shall two races live peacefully and happily together in the same community, each preserving its race purity? It is a new problem, for hitherto the superior race has either destroyed or subjugated or absorbed the backward race, and neither solution is possible for us. I may add that I have since been invited to speak before Southern audiences on this theme, and my message has always been the same; by so much as the White man is the superior of the Black man, by so much it is the duty of the White man to minister to the welfare of the Black man. I count it as one of the special honors of my life that in 1910 I was invited to speak at the Semi-Centennial of the State University of Louisiana, and had the opportunity to give this message to an apparently sympathetic audience which crowded to its utmost capacity the University's gymnasium, converted for the occasion into an audience hall.

The same fundamental principle, individual liberty coupled with a strong government, determined my course on the Indian question. I have never visited an Indian reservation, and doubt whether I have practically known more than half a score of Indians. My knowledge of the Indian problem is derived from others who have a first-hand acquaintance with the conditions, and such service as I have rendered has been that of a theorist applying certain general principles to those conditions as reported to him by disinterested observers.

In the fall of 1883 Mr. Albert K. Smiley invited to a summer hotel at Lake Mohonk, on the Shawangunk Mountains, in New York State, a number of friends of the Indians to consider the Indian question. Mr. Smiley was a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, and had not only a great interest in the Indians, but also an expert knowledge of their situation. That situation was substantially this:

The country in colonial days had necessarily treated the Indian tribes as foreign nations and had made treaties with them. As late as 1800 such a treaty was made granting to the Indians in perpetuity all the territory west of the Mississippi River. As civilization moved westward the Indian territory had been diminished in size but the principle was still maintained. The tribes were granted reservations in which to camp and hunt and fish. The white settlers were forbidden to enter these reservations except by special permission from the Government, and the Indians were forbidden to come out. They were excluded from the civilizing institutions about them, and we wondered that they were not civilized; they were forbidden to sell the products of their industry in the open market, and we wondered that they were not industrious; we supported them in their idleness by rations, and we wondered that they remained paupers; we assumed that they were pagans and sent missionaries to them, and we wondered that they remained in paganism. I believed that the country had outgrown this system, that the Indians were not foreign peoples with whom we should make treaties, but wards of the Nation whom the Nation should govern for the purpose of making them self-governing, and that "the solution of the Indian problem lay in the annihilation of the reservation system root and branch, and in allowing the Indians the same liberty as is allowed to white men so long as they do not infringe on the rights of their neighbors." Three years before the first Indian Conference was held I said editorially of the Reservation system, "It is evil and only evil, and that continually; it is expensive to Government; harassing to the whites; intolerable to the Indians." "To reserve for barbarism great territories, and forbid all advances of civilization, is like building a dungeon in the midst of day and shutting out the sunlight. It is time to have utterly and forever done with it."

In order to get this view before the Conference with some chance of securing for it a serious consideration, I, after the first session, invited three or four influential members of the Conference to meet at the Outlook office and discuss the problem with me.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Among them was General S. C. Armstrong, the founder of Hampton Institute, in Virginia, for the education of Negroes and Indians, one of the bravest and sanest of reformers. We agreed upon a policy, and I began at once an editorial agitation for the abandonment of the reservation system as preliminary to the introduction of this revolutionary conception at the next Lake Mohonk Conference. This attack upon a method which had been pursued since colonial days brought, as I had hoped it would, a vigorous counter-attack. The whole Indian problem was brought to the attention of the people by a widespread newspaper debate in which Western and Eastern journals alike participated. With the ground thus prepared, I introduced a resolution which, in the absence of the record, I must here describe from memory with some uncertainty whether in its first form it presented fully the developed policy. That policy called upon the Government to abolish the reservation system, break up the tribal organizations, allot to the Indians their lands in severalty, open the reservations to white settlement, allow the Indians to trade in the open market and to sue and be sued—in brief, treat the foreign aborigines as we treated the foreign immigrants, with the purpose of making them as speedily as possible part of our heterogeneous Nation. This programme received a hearty support, previously secured, from some delegates who possessed a familiarity with Indian conditions which I did not possess; but it was received with astonishment not unmingled with indignation by others. It was condemned as a violation of sacred treaties and as involving robbery by a great Nation of lands belonging to a feeble folk. Senator Dawes, of Massachusetts, one of the best friends the Indian ever had, devoted an evening to an eloquent address in condemnation of this policy. Two years after he introduced into the United States Senate a bill for putting the policy into effect; it is known in history as the "Dawes Bill." This action was taken consequent upon a resolution by the Conference, after a discussion carried on for two years, cautiously recommending this policy for adoption as soon as practicable. The success of this agitation was largely due to the influence of two men—General Armstrong, the Principal of Hampton Institute, and Captain Pratt, the Principal of the Carlisle School for Indians in Pennsylvania. The latter, I remember, in one speech suggested that if the country would put all the Indians on certain special trains and traverse the country, dropping, I think he said, seven in each county, the Indian problem would be solved.

Two or three years later a second Indian reform was initiated at Lake Mohonk, scarcely less important. The work of educating the Indians had been carried on by missionary schools supported by private benevolence, sometimes in buildings given by the Government, sometimes aided by appropriations from the Government, proportioned to the number of pupils educated. When some of us who were regarded as radicals introduced a resolution recommending the abolition of this system and the substitution of one in which the public schools should be maintained by the Federal Government for their wards, as public schools are maintained for the children of the State by the State, it was vigorously opposed. One chief ground of opposition was that the Federal Government would never consent to undertake the task, an objection which disappeared when in the following year Dr. Morgan, then the Indian Commissioner, came to Lake Mohonk to advocate this policy, with the backing of the Secretary of the Interior and the President. At first dreaded by the missionary societies, I think it is now approved by all of them, though some, of course, still maintain church schools in connection with their Indian work. Both these reforms, the reader will observe, rested on the assumption that the Indians are men, possess the capacities fundamental to manhood, and have a right to the treatment accorded to other men, and also that the Government has a right and a duty to do whatever is necessary for the welfare of all those, citizens or aliens, foreigners or natives, Red men or White men, who reside on American territory and are under the protection of the American flag. Both reforms have been initiated, though they move toward their final accomplishment with disheartening slowness, partly owing to the opposition of private interests, partly to the reluctance of politicians to abolish political offices connected with the Indian Bureau, partly to the inherent conservatism of democracy and a popular indifference to a subject which to most Americans seems to be one of minor importance.

For nearly or quite a score of years after the close of the Civil War the sectional question still remained uppermost in the National

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PHOTOGRAPH BY HOLLINGER

CHARLES B. SPAHR

"Charles B. Spahr, a valued and important member of the staff, who had a National reputation as an economist, was a strong advocate of the free coinage of silver"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thought. The South, angered by the reconstruction policy, was united to resist the Negro domination which it believed that policy involved. The North, still suspicious of the South, was united to prevent the South from resuming its old political control. Thus the sectional conflict continued in politics for almost a score of years after the armed conflict had ended. No political party can remain in power for a long period without being corrupted. Men who have no guiding principles in life other than their own aggrandizement flock to such a party. The second term of President Grant was disgraced by scandals, which, happily for the country, never affected his personal reputation, and it was followed by a bitter sectional fight within the party which was at its hottest in New York State. This conflict between organization and independent Republicans reached its climax in the victory of the organization Republicans in the nomination of James G. Blaine for President in 1884. At the same time Grover Cleveland was nominated by the reform forces within the Democratic party. Mr. Blaine's nomination was followed by an unorganized secession of independent voters, some of them giving their vote to Mr. Cleveland, others giving their vote to Mr. St. John, the Prohibition candidate, or absenting themselves from the polls altogether. Mr. Beecher took the stump for Mr. Cleveland. I voted for St. John.

When I took editorial control of the "Christian Union," in 1882, I resolved to make it in politics independent of all party organization, as in religion it was independent of all ecclesiastical organization. The campaign of 1884 put my resolve to a severe test; for readers, knowing that Mr. Beecher was supporting the Democratic candidate and aggrieved at what they considered his apostasy, believed that I would have followed him had I dared to do so, and many of them resented the non-partisan attitude which the paper then took more than they would have resented an outspoken advocacy of Mr. Cleveland. The falling off in subscriptions would have appalled a money-making board of directors, but my associates never for a moment hesitated in their loyal support of their editor-in-chief, never even suggested to him to modify his policy.

Two years before this campaign I had published a series of editorials calling for the organization of a new party. A few sentences taken from these editorials will suffice to interpret their spirit:

"A party without principles is a body without a soul. Both the parties are corpses; the country needs a live one." "One man with clear convictions and a clarion voice could recruit an army. The hills are full of silent volunteers who are only waiting a trumpet call to battle." "The new party will have at least three definite principles," which I defined as civil service reform, tariff and revenue reform, and "efficient and vigorous control of our great railroad corporations." I insisted that the needed reform could not come by a change of one party to the other. "Sometimes the machine puts up a good man, sometimes a bad man; but the good man does not sanctify the machine nor the bad man make it any worse." The real remedy was to "abolish the despotism of American bosses by abolishing the prolific mother of them, the primary [*i. e.*, the partisan caucus]. . . . It is the nursing mother of selfishness, greed, low ambition, petty intrigue. It is easy of control by the unscrupulous, impossible of control by the pure and patriotic. Let it die the death." I did not, however, suggest a direct primary to take its place.

Reading over these long since forgotten editorials, written in 1882, I am not surprised that I was ready to welcome the new party when it came in 1912, although I questioned some of its specific remedies. Writing now in 1915, I am more than ever sure that the reforms which I then demanded are indispensable to the Republic, whether they come through a new party or a reorganization of the old parties.

Twelve years subsequent to Mr. Cleveland's first election William J. Bryan stampeded the Democratic Convention by his eloquence, and was nominated for the Presidency on a platform demanding the free coinage of silver with gold, the value of the two being fixed at sixteen to one. The Republican party nominated William McKinley on a platform declaring for a single gold standard. The issue presented was to The Outlook one of no little difficulty. The editorial staff was divided in opinion. Charles B. Spahr, a valued and important member of the staff, who had a National reputation as an economist, was a strong advocate of the free coinage of silver. I myself had been and, in theory, still am an international bimetallist; that is, I believe that a double, or, to speak more

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

accurately, alternating, standard would give a more stable basis for currency than any single standard, either gold or silver. I believed that the financial history of the world demonstrated that an unvarying proportion of value between gold and silver as a basis for currency could be maintained by international agreement, and in this belief was sustained by recognized expert authorities, such, for example, as Dr. Francis A. Walker. But an honest and earnest endeavor had been made by the Republican party to secure such an international agreement, and it had failed. Mr. Bryan proposed that America enter upon the dangerous experiment of maintaining such a stable ratio of values without the aid of other commercial nations. During my absence in Europe The Outlook took no other part in the heated campaign of that summer except to report the political events and the important speeches. I wrote to my associates to prepare for me a scrap-book containing the platform of the two parties and a few of the most important speeches on each side of the hotly debated question. When I arrived at home, about the last of September, I shut myself up in my library and for two or three days gave to these arguments a careful study, the results of which I embodied in an editorial in length equivalent to about six pages of The Outlook in its present size, concluding with the advice to the doubtful voter to cast his vote against the free coinage of silver. The moral reasons for this conclusion were, to my mind, the weightiest reasons, and were stated in substantially the following terms: "It is rarely morally wise to do to another what he thinks unjust. It is never morally right voluntarily to enter on a course of action as to the justice of which the actor is himself in doubt. These principles are as applicable to nations as to individuals. The creditors of the American Nation would think themselves unjustly dealt with were we to pay off our bonds in silver dollars. The Nation itself is divided in opinion as to the justice of such action, and division of opinion in a nation is like uncertainty of judgment in an individual. It ought not to enter upon a national experiment which a large proportion of the people regard as immoral or even of doubtful morality. It is better to bear the ills inflicted by what half the Nation regards as the injustice of a past generation than to attempt their remedy by a policy which is regarded as unjust by the other half."

The issue is past, and never likely to be revived. But this episode confirmed me in my belief that political questions are to be determined, not by considerations of political or commercial expediency only, but fundamentally by moral principles.

The next important incident in our National history greatly interested me, but in it I played only an unimportant part.

In 1895, eleven years after the first Indian Conference at Lake Mohonk, Mr. Smiley invited to his hotel a number of ladies and gentlemen to discuss the subject of international arbitration. Mr. Smiley was a peace-lover and a peacemaker, but he was not an advocate of peace at any price. He believed that it is possible to pay too high a price for peace; that liberty, justice, the duty of a nation to its own citizens, the duty of a nation to neighboring nations, are each and all too great a sacrifice to offer for the sake of securing either personal or national peace. The series of conferences at Lake Mohonk which have been held since 1895 have not been peace conferences; they have been conferences on international arbitration. Mr. Smiley's object, frequently affirmed by him in the course of these conferences, was to work out some better means of securing international justice and fulfilling National duty than the method of war. In the first conference Edward Everett Hale pointed out in a speech of great clearness and vigor that better way. It was not international arbitration. It was a permanent court for the settling of judicial controversies, and he made clear the fundamental distinction between the two methods. This epoch-making speech was delivered four years before the First Hague Conference was held, and twelve years before our Secretary of State, Elihu Root, laid it as a chief duty upon the American delegation to the Second Hague Peace Conference to propose such a tribunal.

Six months after this first arbitration conference at Lake Mohonk there occurred an incident which tested the feeling of the country on this subject.

A boundary dispute had arisen in South America between Venezuela and British Guiana. After long-continued attempts to settle the dispute by negotiations, Great Britain broke off diplomatic relations with Venezuela and Venezuela appealed to the United States for sympathy and assistance. President Cleveland's Message in December, 1895, called upon Congress to provide adequate appropriation for an investigation of the facts

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the case. His recommendation was accompanied by a very undiplomatic threat which brought us near to the peril of war with Great Britain. "When the report of the Commission," he said, "is made and accepted, it will, in my opinion, be the duty of the United States to resist, by every means in its power, as a willful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any territory which, after investigation, we have determined of right belong to Venezuela."

My own estimate of this Message was fairly expressed by a sentence attributed to a leading Senator of President Cleveland's party, Senator Gray, of Delaware, that the Message partook of the spirit of a man who slaps his neighbor's face and then asks him for an explanation. Meanwhile both the Senate and the House eagerly supported the President, and the appropriation of $100,000 was made by a non-partisan vote. But the country did not exhibit the same unanimity. The Message of the President was sent to Congress on the 17th of December. On the following Sunday the preachers of America, without previous conference and without following any recognized leader, preached against war with Great Britain. There was scarcely a dissenting voice from any pulpit, and by voice in Plymouth pulpit and by pen in The Outlook I joined in this protest. The event gave me the only experience I have ever had of addressing a hostile and tumultuous audience. A meeting in Cooper Union, held December 24, seven days after the President's Message, was reported by the New York "Tribune" under the following headlines:

WAR AT A PEACE MEETING
A RED HOT TIME OF IT IN COOPER UNION

My recollection of what was almost a mob justifies this characterization. There were present a large number of rather boisterous Irishmen who were eager for war with England and who desired to turn the peace meeting into a war meeting. The presiding officer doubted my ability to get a hearing. I doubted it myself, but wished to try the experiment. The result of the experiment two or three lines from the "Tribune's" report will serve to indicate to the reader: "Lyman Abbott said: . . . 'There is more glory in a workshop than in an armory; glory is in producing, not in destroying.' Instantly he found that he had rightly judged his audience; namely, that it was largely composed of workingmen. . . . Cheers saluted his retirement." The popular demand in America for a peaceful settlement coupled with a popular demand in Great Britain equally unanimous forced a peaceful adjustment of the controversy.

Three years later, in 1898, another war cloud appeared upon the horizon. For over a century America had seen with increasing disquiet the sufferings of the Cuban people under an intolerable Spanish despotism. Living themselves on the threshold of the twentieth century, they saw their neighbors oppressed under a government which retained the spirit and methods of the seventeenth century. The Spanish-American War has been often attributed to the destruction of the Maine, an American man-of-war, while on a peaceful visit to Havana. In fact, that destruction took place February 15, and war was not declared until April 24, more than two months later. The real occasion of the war was the report of Senator Proctor, of Vermont, on the conditions which he found existing in the island; it aroused in the country a storm of humanitarian indignation which proved irresistible. This time I believed that war was a duty and peace would have been a dishonor. On the 13th of March, over a month before the declaration of war, I preached in Plymouth Church a sermon on the text, "If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men," affirming that "it is not always possible and does not always lie in us to live peaceably with all men," a sermon which closed with the two following sentences: "This great Nation belongs to the community of nations. When the time does come, in the judgment of our leaders, who have shown themselves wise and courageous to lead, wise in their moderation and their equipoise, when the time does come, and they declare that it is no longer possible, that it no longer lies in us to live at peace, that this internecine war in Cuba must stop, let all the people say, Amen!"

This sermon I followed with two others on "The Meaning of the War" and on "The Duty and Destiny of America." And I have never ceased from that time to this to commend the action of our Government and our people in the Spanish-American War. I repeat here what I said at one session of the Lake Mohonk Conference: "I believe the proudest chapter in our history

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is that written by the statesmanship of McKinley, the guns of Dewey, and the administration of Taft. There is nothing to repent, nothing to retract; our duty is to go on and complete the work already so well begun. I do not defend or apologize for what we have done in the Philippines. I glory in it. We must give them a government, not for our benefit, but primarily for the benefit of the Filipinos."

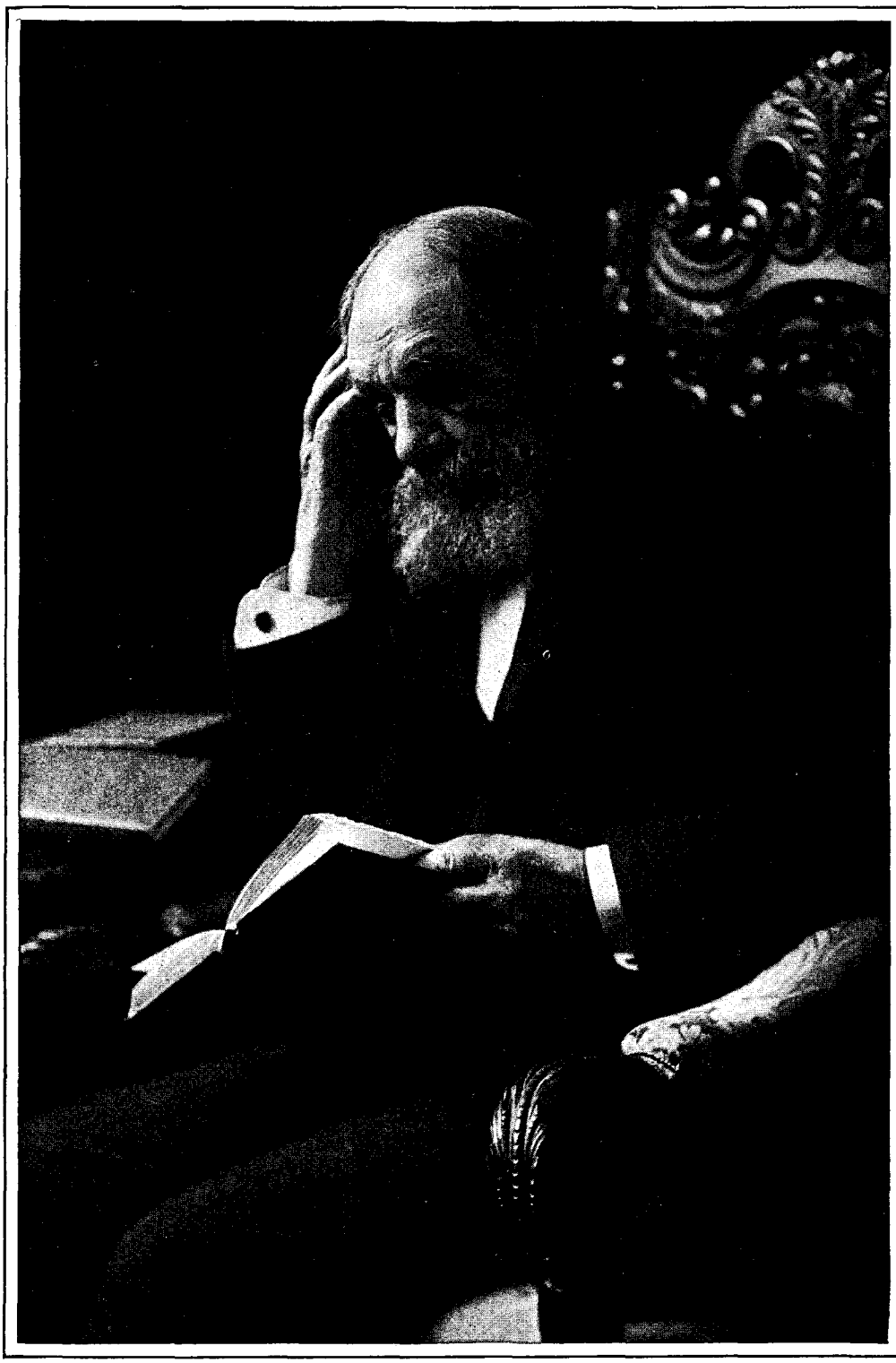
I do not think that the history of the world records a nobler war. We captured Cuba and gave it to the Cubans, extending over them a protectorate which guarantees them from foreign aggression and domestic anarchy. We captured Porto Rico and retained it under the protection of our flag, giving back to the Porto Ricans for expenditure in their own island all the taxes collected from them. We captured the Philippines, sent an army of teachers to follow the army of occupation, and have pledged them our word to give them self-government as fast as they are prepared for it. We asked no war indemnity from Spain; on the contrary, we paid her for all the public works which she had constructed in the conquered Philippines. We fought the American Revolution to free ourselves, the Civil War to free a people whom we had helped to enslave, the Spanish-American War to free a people to whom we owed no other duty than that of a big Nation to an oppressed neighbor.

In maintaining the right and duty of a strong nation to use its strength for the welfare of the world I have continually maintained that no people have a right to ownership of a land simply because they roam over it, hunting in its forests and fishing in its lakes. For this doctrine my faith in the fundamental principles of Henry George's economic philosophy prepared me. In affirming it, I declared in a speech in Boston that "barbarism has no rights which civilization is bound to respect." This was transformed by a reporter into the sentence, "Barbarians have no rights which civilization is bound to respect," and was made the text for a bitter denunciatory address by a Boston lawyer, who would have lost his text but saved his labor if he had called me up on the telephone to ascertain what I had said. This and some kindred experiences have caused me to make it a rule, from which I rarely depart, not to criticise any public speaker on the faith of a newspaper report of his speech without first seeking from him a verification.

My not very important connection with one other very important element in our National development must conclude this fragmentary narrative. From the preceding chapter the reader will conclude that in the conflict between labor and capital my sympathy was with the workingmen. But with the attacks on men of wealth because they were wealthy and on big business because it was big I could have no sympathy. That I was able to take any active and efficient part in the movement for the emancipation of the workingmen and of society from predatory wealth was due to the friendship and active co-operation of men of wealth who were engaged in big business: Mr. James Stillman, who for friendship's sake had taken stock in The Outlook, and Mr. Lawson Valentine, who had purchased a controlling interest in the paper, in order to give me a free hand in its editorial conduct. My object was not to win a victory over the capitalists, nor to find a basis for a compromise between laborers and capitalists, but to learn myself and to point out to others what are the essential rights of both laborers and capitalists, and so find in industrial justice the foundation for industrial peace.

It did not take me long to see that there was real peril to our country in the power of wealth exercised by great corporations, especially over the highways of the Nation. I accepted as an accurate statement of our railway problem the saying of Senator Booth, of California, which I frequently repeated in editorials and addresses: Formerly our means of locomotion were poor, but our highways were public property; now our means of locomotion are good, but our highways are private property. It was not, however, merely monopoly in transportation which seemed to me a peril. In a sermon, the date of which I do not recall, I said that if the time shall ever come when a small body of men control our railways, and another small body our mines, and another our oil wells, and another our food supply, and another our currency, we shall cease to be a free people, because those who control the sources of our life control us. I insisted that remedy could never be found in an endeavor to go back to free competition, and I frequently quoted as an axiom the saying of George Stephenson: "Wherever combination is possible competition is impossible." As early as 1878 I declared editorially in favor of allowing the great inter-State lines—the New

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



PHOTOGRAPH BY MARCEAU

EDWARD EVERETT HALE

"In the first conference Edward Everett Hale pointed out in a speech of great clearness and vigor that better way. *It was not international arbitration. It was a permanent court . . . This* epoch-making speech was delivered four years before the First Hague Conference was held"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

York Central, the Erie, the Pennsylvania, and the Baltimore and Ohio—to pool their freights, although this in effect "makes the four great railroad corporations one so far as the trading public are concerned." I agreed with Charles Francis Adams that "such a combination is less injurious to the public than the ruinous competition which is the only alternative." The brief sentence which I had written in Terre Haute in 1865, "Individualism is the characteristic of simple barbarism, not of republican civilization," has ever since guided me through all the mazes of a complicated, always perplexing, and often heated public debate.

Henry Ward Beecher was an individualist of the old school, passionately devoted to the freedom of the individual, and for that reason averse to any increase in the powers of government. Although I was in practical control of the paper during our joint editorship, I carefully refrained from taking any editorial position on public questions to which I thought he would object. Still, in 1881, the year before the change in ownership made me editor-in-chief, I suggested Government control of the railways. "May it not be found," I said, "that by relying upon the two powers [State and Federal] a systematic, comprehensive railroad law might be framed by the General Government which will be satisfactory to the people, and would reconcile the rival interests which are now on the verge of conflict?" Two years later I suggested the right of the Government to fix a maximum rate for both freight and passengers, or to organize a railway commission with supervisory and semi-judicial powers, as in Great Britain. The following year, that of the Blaine-Cleveland campaign, in calling for a new political party I proposed, as one of its planks, "the control by Government of the great highways, whether of communication or commerce, whether by wire, rail, or water." Two years later, in an editorial contrasting "the old democracy and the new," I extended this platform to include in the function of the State "Government control of all corporations not subject to the law of competition." In the following year the first Inter-State Commerce Bill was passed by the United States Senate, a bill which I interpreted to mean that "the people of the United States have decided that the railroads of this country shall be public highways, not private turnpikes." From that fundamental position the Nation has never receded. Since that time the question has been, not, Shall the people control the railways? but, How shall that control be exercised? And I have steadfastly advocated the doctrine that not only the railways, but the mines, the forests, the waterways—in short, the land and its contents—must be brought under Government regulation, State or National, and that this regulation must be extended to all forms of business—including the regulation of food, beverages, and drugs—as fast and as far as is necessary to conserve the public welfare.

Two occasions of special interest have been afforded me for putting this fundamental view of the function of government before the public. One was when I was invited to address the Legislature of Oklahoma. Two currents of political opinion were very apparent in this new State at that time, one progressive from the West, the other conservative from the South. Assuming the old Southern view, as interpreted by the Alabama Constitution, quoted later in this chapter, that the function of government is the protection of property, I urged that it is as much the duty of government to protect the property of the public as the property of the individual, and applied this principle in urging the State to preserve for the people the forests, the rivers, and the water power. The other occasion was furnished when I was invited in 1912 to present my views to a Senate committee at Washington. This I did in a paper subsequently published in The Outlook, urging that the experience of the Nation had demonstrated that regulation, not disorganization, of big business is desirable; that Congress had tried regulation in the case of foods and drugs and had succeeded, and had tried disorganization in the case of the Standard Oil Company and the Tobacco Trust and had failed.

When, in 1902, at the commencement of his second term of office, President Roosevelt made his famous addresses on "Big Corporations Commonly Called Trusts," I was delighted, and The Outlook obtained his permission to publish these addresses in their authorized form in The Outlook. Here was a voice to which the whole Nation would listen urging on the people that policy of government regulation of great organized industries which The Outlook had been urging for years. And when President Roosevelt's term expired and he was about to return to the quiet of private life, I eagerly welcomed the suggestion of my son Lawrence that we

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

invite Mr. Roosevelt to join our editorial staff as a Contributing Editor. I have recently in the pages of The Outlook, and on two separate occasions, given my estimate of Mr. Roosevelt, and need not repeat it here. It must suffice to say that during the five years of our association he proved himself an ideal exemplar of the spirit and value of team work, that he was a cordial collaborator with his fellow-editors, that he never sought to impose upon us the authority which his reputation and his position had given him, that he was the friend of every one in the office, and that when the exigency of his political life made him the leader of a political party, so that it was no longer possible for him to occupy the position of even a Contributing Editor of an independent, non-partisan journal, we all felt that we had lost in his withdrawal from the staff association with an honored friend and a wise counselor. This chapter will have failed of a part of its purpose if it has not made clear to the reader that The Outlook could not do otherwise than support what are popularly known as the Roosevelt policies without repudiating the political principles which it had been advocating for more than a score of years.

Mr. W. E. H. Lecky, the English historian, writing in 1896, declares that the Constitution of Alabama expresses admirably the best spirit of American statesmanship when it states that " the sole and only legitimate end of government is to protect the citizen in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property, and when the government assumes other functions it is usurpation and oppression." This may have been the best spirit of American statesmanship when the Constitution of Alabama was adopted, but it is not the spirit of the American people to-day. The conservative is quite right in saying that we have departed from the traditions of our fathers. In my lifetime I have seen the American Government become a great builder of public works, a great financial institution, a great educational institution, a great benevolent institution, a great administrator of public utilities, and a protector of the rights and property of the public as well as of the rights and property of private individuals.

In 1860 President Buchanan refused his assent to a bill for removing obstructions at the mouth of the Mississippi River on the ground that the Federal Government has no right to use Federal moneys except for distinctly Federal purposes. In 1915 we have built by Government money on territory which we have purchased from a foreign nation an interoceanic canal for the benefit of all the nations of the world on equal terms. In 1861 banking was a purely private business, under no Federal control and often under little or no State control. Every shopkeeper had a " Bank Note Detector," issued, I believe, every fortnight, which he constantly consulted in order to know the value of the bills offered to him by the purchaser. We now have a Federal-guarded currency of equal value in every part of the country, and often taken at par in foreign lands. In my boyhood in half of the Nation there were no public schools, and in the other half the public school system was defended on the ground that education is a cheap way to protect the community from crime. American law now tacitly recognizes, what English law has explicitly affirmed, that the children in the State are the children of the State, and to them the State owes, not only protection, but opportunity for education. It is said that Thomas Jefferson doubted the propriety of a National Post-Office, questioning whether it were not better to leave the carriage of letters to private enterprise. Now our Post-Office is the exclusive carrier of our letters, and is also a National savings bank and a National express company. For the doctrine that government must do nothing but govern, we have substituted, almost without knowing it, the doctrine that the people may do by means of their government anything which they can do better than it will be done for them by private enterprise. I have been a sympathetic interpreter of this pacific revolution, and in interpreting have done something to promote it.

I have faith in my fellow-men. I believe in their honesty of purpose and their competency of judgment. I have seen them take up great questions of National policy, one after another, and decide them aright, sometimes overriding their leaders in so doing. They have endured four years of terrible self-sacrifice in order to preserve the Nation intact and set it free from bondage; they have given away millions of acres of their lands to foreign immigrants who promised to dwell upon and cultivate them, recognizing the truth that the wealth of a nation consists not in its soil but in its people; they have denied themselves the right to purchase their goods in the cheapest market that they might make America an industrially independent Nation; they

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have voted to pay the Nation's debts in gold when, without breaking the letter of their bond, they could have saved millions of dollars by paying them in silver; they have taxed themselves year after year for an expensive system of public education, because they recognize the value to the Nation of brain power in its humblest and lowliest citizens; they have voted to carry on a war for the succor of a feeble neighbor, and have brushed aside impatiently the protests alike of materialists, who argued that it did not pay, and of timid idealists, who feared that it would convert the Republic into an empire; they have perceived the perils of the country in a growing plutocracy, and have entered on the task of bringing the aristocracy of wealth under the control of the democracy of industry. I have been personally, though not intimately, acquainted with eight Presidents—Grant, the soldier; Hayes, the peacemaker; Garfield, the orator; Cleveland, the administrator; McKinley, the cautious; Roosevelt, the courageous; Taft, the lawyer; Wilson, the scholar. And I have known enough of other men in public life—Senators, Representatives, Governors, Mayors, and their subordinates—to know that while some politicians are unscrupulous self-seekers in America as in other countries, America has her share of public men as true, as pure, as self-denying, as are to be found anywhere in the world. My faith in my fellow-men has been strengthened by my lifelong study of our National life. The evils from which we have suffered have been caused, not by too great a trust, but by too great a distrust of the people; and I repeat again, as my well-considered conclusion from such life study, what I have often repeated in public speech: The remedy for the ills of democracy is more democracy.

The revolution which I have seen in industry and in politics could not have taken place had it not been accompanied by a revolution in religious thought and life. To a description of that revolution my next chapter will be devoted.

A NEW DAY FOR THE COUNTRY CHURCH

BY MARTHA BENSLEY BRUÈRE AND ROBERT W. BRUÈRE

*In three articles Mr. and Mrs. Brucre have recorded their experiences on journeys of observation in East, West, and South which gave them an opportunity of noting what the rural churches were and were not doing. These three articles were printed in The Outlook for March 24, April 28, and May 26 respectively. In the following article Mr. and Mrs. Brucre give their conclusions. The story that they tell is a story of a New Reformation.—*THE EDITORS.

WE visited one summer on a hill overlooking a tiny Eastern village of a hundred or so inhabitants. It was in an inland county far off the beaten track. The railway service was infrequent and bad—they called it the "peanut road;" public education was limited and prosperity was merely intermittent. As a consequence the people were wrapped in an impervious conservatism. An important election that was coming on stirred only the faintest interest—all the voters would vote as they always had and as their fathers had before them.

Almost before we had unpacked, the minister of the nearest church came to call. He was not a young man nor new to his charge; he did not seem remarkable in any way—certainly not a revolutionist. When he said, "I hope you will come to our church to-morrow," we supposed it to be the perfunctory invitation given to all newcomers, and began some practiced temporizing. But the minister interrupted:

"I know, I know! I'm not surprised that you don't intend going to church when you've come here to rest. You can hear far better preachers than I am, but I wish you'd come. There's something I've been thinking of doing for a long time, and—well, I'd like to have you there."

So on Sunday morning we settled ourselves near the back of the church and watched the good husbands and fathers, the industrious farmers and fair-dealing storekeepers, with their faithful wives and obedient children, enter, complacent and serene. Their gar-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dens were weeded, their barns were clean, their children well clad and sent to school, their debts paid. No man ran away with his neighbor's wife or beat his own. They settled their accustomed backs into the pews. To each day its special duty—this was the time for church!

The minister prayed that the three per cent deficit in the contribution to the missions in India might be made up, and with equal voice that the higher criticism might be refuted; then he paused for a moment, and we had our surprise—he prayed that they might vote as Christians!

If he had stopped with that the congregation probably wouldn't have got it at all, but when he came to his sermon he spoke, not of what might have happened in Judea or Rome or Greece, but of what was about to happen there in central New York. Good, straight political doctrine he gave them about one candidate and another, about what the parties stood for—not in the past or in the Nation at large, but right then and there in their township—and he showed as clearly as he knew how just what voting like a Christian meant. He might have been one of his predecessors, those great country preachers the Hebrew prophets, who made a practice of pointing out the duty of their hearers in such concrete form that there was no misunderstanding them. The congregation began to stir and really listen, it moved in its seats, one man got up and went out. Their trusted pastor, whose sermons had sat as easily upon them as old clothes, had shocked them!

This was something we had not seen before—a beginning of the new religious reformation. All over the country we had found it in different stages of development, but here in this little backwater it had just cracked the shell. This isolated clergyman had heard the demand that righteousness operate through the franchise, that neighborliness dominate big business, that brotherly love function through the tilling of the soil, and had begun to preach a new gospel.

That the Church should shift her emphasis from individual to community virtues, should hold up the ideal of the *good citizen* before the ideal of the *good man*, implies a great internal revolution. But it is this ability to change that constitutes the indestructible persistence of the religious instinct by virtue of which the Church has survived every social or economic upheaval. In the recent past—that past which is still present in many parts of the country—the rural church had begun to assume that it did not bear any relation to the social customs of the people or their state of culture, their economic life or their political organization. But the threat of diminishing membership, of falling contributions and loss of prestige, came before it, and everywhere appeared the beginnings of the reformation through which it is fitting itself to our swelling democracy.

Out on the western edge of Iowa we made friends with a little dried-up pastor and persuaded him to motor about with us through the rich corn lands. Our driver knew the country well, and now and again he would tell us how this one had bought Jack Day's farm, or that one had rented his south fifty to a man who'd come over from Tennessee. At last he stopped the car at the top of a little rise and pointed to a broad green sweep.

"Say, Mr. Harden, that owns this place, he's kept buying and buying till I don't know how much he's got; but it's more than eight hundred acres, I guess."

"Does he work it all?" asked the minister.

"Why, he can't begin to do that—he just lets most of it lie."

"Well," cried the parson, angrily, "that's not owning land like a Christian—no, nor treating it like a good citizen either!"

As we whirled on through the rich farming territory he gave us a wonderful sermon on the land as a religious problem, and farming as a function of citizenship. Later we went down into his parish and found that he was the motive power of a live church in which the new reformation was flowering rapidly. He preached here the doctrine that no man could reconcile with the teachings of Christ the holding of more land than he could use.

"And I ain't at all sure the parson ain't right," one deacon said, reflectively. "When you get right down to looking at things, it does seem as if we was just taking work out of men's hands and the food out of their mouths, and that's just as bad as stealing or killing or anything else that the law don't allow. Of course, after you've spent all your life getting your farm and paying for it you may have some trouble seeing it the way he says—and I ain't sure I do; but, anyway, he's made it something to think about."

All through the Southwest where they quoted to us, "Unless a man is a better farmer for being a Christian, his religion will die," they are taking pains to reduce religious

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mortality from such a preventable cause. The Presbyterian Department of Country Life has its hands full supplying speakers on country church organization to agricultural conferences, and speakers on agriculture to church conferences, to the end that a man shall have a chance to be a better farmer because he is a Christian. They are beating in again and again what a man told us at a tiny crossroads village:

"Keeping this store is my way of helping the United States."

It is true that the laity are not always glad to have religion brought into their daily walks and ways. One may be certain that an earlier laity did not enjoy the Church's preaching on foraging or theft or piracy or slavery or certain other methods by which it was once customary to acquire a livelihood. We met a Presbyterian minister fresh from a very discouraging experience.

"I have just revisited the church where I was pastor eight years," he told us. "Since I left them I have been in a more prosperous and enlightened neighborhood, and it seemed that I might speak to these old friends about some of the better methods of agriculture that I had seen practiced. But it was not a successful experiment. The church felt that new ways of cultivating potatoes should not be talked about in the pulpit. I fear that I disappointed them—and I know they disappointed me. I had spent many years helping them to be good men; now when I tried to help them to be good farmers also they would not receive my teachings." The good man was sore and a little bitter from his contact with the individualism of the farmer, which is the biggest obstacle the country church has to overcome. For the farmer still feels that the way he sows and reaps, packs and ships, buys and sells, is his own business. To himself he seems still an independent man pitted against, instead of with, the world. The practical brotherliness for which modern citizenship is only another name, and for the lack of which the cities and the farms have both suffered, is outside his mental horizon. The idea that the health of the city children depends on the purity of the country milk, and that this can be assured only by a rigid inspection of farm conditions, has been met with violent objection. The farmer could not see that his responsibility went beyond the milking of his cows, nor that the packing of the small apples at the bottom of the barrel was an unchristian act.

In northern Missouri after a church had been addressed at a week-day meeting by a particularly able agriculturist on the interdependence of the farm and the town, and the need that each should deal generously with the other, we saw a great brown farmer get defiantly on his feet and insist that such talk was all nonsense. Was not the farmer the only independent man? Couldn't he get along without the city man? Then why should he treat him any better than he had a mind to? The minister rose and denounced such ideas as unchristian and unpatriotic, but he hadn't by any means the sympathy of his entire audience.

It was as though their hereditary enemy were being filched from them and they bitterly resented the theft. The idea that he might become a friend was not to be accepted lightly. As a Michigan woman wrote us:

"The best thing the farmer can do is to stop the city man getting his money away from him. The city man always has cheated him and been against him, and he always will."

And yet the new country church which is making it its business to produce good citizens can and does get the farmers to accept the idea of kinship with the outside world. In a New England section which is just being redeveloped into a fruit-growing region we came upon a meeting of church people called by the ministers of two different denominations to hear a graduate of the Agricultural Department of Cornell University tell them how to pack apples "so that the consumer would receive them in the best condition," emphasizing under the sanction of the church the city man's right to good food at the farmer's hands as well as the latter's right to demand fair treatment in return.

At a conference of country ministers in Richmond, Virginia, we heard the morals of vegetable shipping discussed, the religious value of co-operation, and a prayer offered: "That we may lead our flocks to till the land like Christian men." The metaphor may have been mixed, but the meaning wasn't.

This new religious doctrine preached here and there is causing the country to say, timidly and often with reluctance, to the rest of the world: "We be of one blood, thou and I"—which is a pretty good text from which to preach Christian citizenship.

The country church is putting itself by a conscious effort into the warp and woof of social progress. It was at a great conference of country ministers and school-teachers that we heard the problems of rural credit dis-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cussed and rediscussed as matters vital to the citizenship of the people, and therefore to their religious and intellectual development. After a man from Kansas had talked for an hour on rural credits and answered questions for half an hour longer the conference broke up into eager groups. At the center of one circle was a clergyman from Minnesota, who thought a co-operative bank backed by a co-operative buying and selling association was a better plan, and pointed to the experiments at Svea and Jackson to prove it. Representatives from both of these places were there to tell of the improved morale of their communities and the growth of religious feeling as a result of economic co-operation. Another group thought these enterprises too local, and wanted to develop a National organization. But all of them considered the business of country finance the affair of the church.

"We have not done our full duty," said one of them decidedly. "If we had preached about the Christianity of business and farming as we have about church-going and missions, we wouldn't have so much left to do now."

For the country church is accepting the responsibility of making good citizens as it once accepted the responsibility of making good men, and is trying to understand and control all the diverse factors that make up that great work in a democracy.

Again and again when the question of the decay of the Church is discussed the cry goes up for a great leader to revive it. Revivals are organized and advertised, prepared for, and financed. As yet, however, no one-man revival has done the thing that is needed, though the possible coming of a great revivalist raises the question of the function of religion in a democracy such as ours is growing to be. Can the Church be any finer or nobler than the people that are its spiritual soil? The leaders of the New Reformation do not think so. They feel that the Church must do its new work through democratic methods, through community regeneration, through the production of an intelligent citizenship.

We met recently in New York City a clergyman who had gone into a New Jersey pastorate and preached the new revelation that a man's brethren are not only those of his own house but those of all the other houses everywhere. He began his pastorate by preaching on the text of cement sidewalks, and carried his work on through material and immaterial manifestations, not of personal righteousness only, but of collective service to the State. And that little center which he transformed into a group of good citizens has set a standard which is already being followed up and down that countryside.

We went down the Potomac with a hale and hearty clergyman of eighty-two who was on his spring vacation.

"All my young days," said he, "I wanted to preach in the country and I was kept in city pastorates. Sometimes during my vacations I supplied country pulpits and saw the great work which could be done there; but I could go only where I was called. Now that they think I am too old to preach I have taken a little charge up in the hills that nobody else wanted, and I'm preaching good citizenship to those people as I've grown to understand it through a long life. All the things that city people can get from the world directly—business and economics, social and educational problems—I'm trying to give my people through the church. If they don't get a knowledge of them there, they can't get it at all. Every Monday I have a pastoral conference with as many as can come, and we talk over politics, or chicken farming, or the new school-house, or whether we will vote money to improve the road to Phœnicia, or the best way to send butter by parcel post, or some other thing that will help the community if it is done right. And usually there's something in the discussion that I can work into my sermon next Sunday. My people are pretty good folks, but they haven't been taught to apply their goodness to anything larger than themselves. I'm glad I'm free to spend this end of my life helping them do their part for the whole community."

These men have heard civilization crying for clean politics, for healthy citizens, for more and cheaper food, and they are spurring the country church into the reformation which will make it able to supply the demand.

Those who measure the country church by abandoned buildings, by ill-paid ministers, by dwindling congregations and debts, are blinded. The religious reformation that is upon the country is more widespread and more irresistible than the one that centered about Luther, because it has sprung from the loins of a freer democracy than was dreamed of in his day, and is working itself out through common, popularly understood means.

The leaders of this reformation, whether they are of the clergy or of the laity, under-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stand that Christ's great commandment may be realized under modern conditions. They have learned that mutual aid—love of one's neighbor—and prosperity can go hand in hand when not only the economic but the ethical basis of community life has been changed. Scattered through the South we found churches that have discovered the relation of poverty to drunkenness and crime, and of ignorance to sin, and are applying these scientific truths to their living local problems with little thought for creed or authority.

Through the rich lands of the East and West also are such churches as those of Jordan's Grove, Iowa; Maroa and Plainfield, Illinois; the Porter district church in Adair County, Missouri, which, though they may wear the tag of one denomination or another, still do their work for the individual by socializing the whole community. They are trying through community pleasures and co-operative enterprises to produce a working brotherhood and cultivate the ethical and religious qualities that can grow freely only after prosperity and education have eradicated the gross immoralities of poverty and ignorance.

The ministry of the church which is passing was a ministry of denominational doctrine and very certain of its creed. The ministry of the growing church is a ministry of action, and its leaders seem even a little doubtful of their denominational affiliations. What are their creeds?

"I believe," said one, "in teaching country boys and girls to raise pigs to the glory of God."

"I believe in salvation through the public school. To preach righteousness to an illiterate and disease-smitten people is to sow good seed in stony ground."

"I believe in life as a trust. The time for doctrinal controversy is past. We of the church must give an accounting of our stewardship. If we cannot work within the church to bring God's kingdom on earth, we must work outside the church as citizens and men."

"Remember, the prayer says, 'Thy kingdom come on earth;' that's my creed. I hold by it more than I do by my denomination—or by all the denominations put together."

"I believe it is the first duty of Christian men in a democracy to make the sacred secular and the secular sacred."

"I believe in Christ's great commandment, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' and that knowledge acquired through the inductive method of modern science is essential to its obedience under the conditions of modern life."

To what denomination did these leaders of the New Reformation belong? Nominally to four different ones, but in reality to the new Church which, at the will of both laity and clergy, cuts across denominational lines, and like Christ and his disciples is going out from the synagogue to where the common people are working in the fields and the highways. They interpret Christianity as man's work of building, with life as the material, a fair and just civilization.

Now that we have come back from our journeys, all that we saw and heard resolves itself into a sort of moving picture of an increasing number of communities eagerly following the new leadership even along difficult ways; of a ministry, intelligent in spite of taboo and inadequate training, well supported and held in high esteem; of a whole people moving, not only to the long-preached personal integrity, but to political, economic, and social righteousness.

Last night we talked with the editor of one of the great religious weeklies who has had his fingers on the pulse of the country church for thirty years.

"What I told you even two years ago wouldn't be true to-day," he said. "The tide has turned, and religion has taken a fresh grip on the country where it seemed about to let go."

For the country church is not dying. It is being forced by the increasing intelligence and prosperty of the country into a New Reformation. As the Reformation of Luther was a movement toward democracy and socialization, so is this modern reformation a fight for more democracy and more socialization. As the other left a trail of dying and discredited sects and theologies, so this is leaving its trail of wreckage—the church which failed to help the lean land to plenty, to teach the fat land to use prosperity, which succeeded in turning the young people from its doors, and which sank below the intellectual level of those it aspired to lead, is dying because of its sins of omission. But religion is not dying in the country. It is gathering itself together and taking its place in the great rural revolution toward freedom and democracy. And all unconsciously it is marching to the great social chant of Luther:

"A Christian man is a most free lord of all things and subject to no one; a Christian man is a most dutiful servant of all things and subject to every one."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE MARKET-PLACE

THE GREAT EXCHANGES AND THEIR INFLUENCE. A PUBLIC OF MORE THAN 10,000,000 PERSONS DIRECTLY AFFECTED. THE DUTY AND THE OPPORTUNITY OF MARKET LEADERSHIP

BY THEODORE H. PRICE

"THE market" is a term that has come to mean something more than a place. Throughout England and America it is used to describe the collective mind that finds expression in the fluctuating prices at which property is bought and sold. As such it is spoken of as a person.

Thus we say that the market is "strong" or "weak" or "panicky," "unreasonable" or "suspicious," "enthusiastic" or "tired," "hungry" or "asleep," and attribute to it almost every emotion or consciousness felt by the individual.

The psychological processes and phenomena of this collective mind are most interesting to the philosopher as well as the practical man of business, whose success is more or less dependent upon the accuracy with which he reads and interprets this "market" of which he is himself a part.

The great so-called speculative markets of the United States afford an opportunity that cannot be found elsewhere for studying the mental reactions and emotions of the crowd, for nowhere else does this crowd include so large a portion of the public, and nowhere else is the news of the market so widely or promptly distributed.

Speculation has been defined and justified by Justice Holmes, of the United States Supreme Court, as the "adjustment of society to the probable." In the United States there are three great markets in which this adjustment is constantly in progress. They are the New York Stock Exchange, the Chicago Board of Trade, and the New York Cotton Exchange.

There are smaller stock exchanges in almost every city of metropolitan aspirations. There are grain exchanges where "futures" are traded in at New York, St. Louis, Kansas City, Minneapolis, Toledo, Duluth, and Winnipeg, Canada, and there is an active future market for cotton in New Orleans.

These secondary markets are all more or less responsive to the influences that affect the larger exchanges first named, and though the New York Cotton and Stock Exchanges and the Chicago Board of Trade are governed in detail by influences which are peculiar to the business conducted in each of them, they have a common susceptibility to the larger considerations which fundamentally affect business and speculation generally.

Thus an important bank failure will depress stocks, cotton, and grain simultaneously, and a political event that is regarded as commercially auspicious is apt to advance both securities and commodities in varying degrees.

The prices made on these exchanges are published daily in papers that have an aggregate circulation of at least ten million copies; they are printed momentarily by 6,000 tickers in 78 different cities, and they are transmitted regularly over private wires, leased by brokers, that extend all over the United States and Canada—from New York, Boston, and Chicago to San Francisco, Winnipeg, and Texas.

In normal times they are also cabled instantly to all the important cities of Europe, and "New York prices" are known almost as soon in London and Liverpool as they are in a Wall Street broker's office.

It is, of course, impossible to know how many people are interested in or directly affected by the course of prices on these great exchanges, but the number is enormous, and their power, when they are impelled by a common impulse, is irresistible.

On June 30, 1914, there were some 316,909 corporations in the United States. Of these, according to a statement published in a financial review last January, 82 were large railway companies having 565,489 shareholders, and 177 were large industrial companies having 798,125 shareholders; a total of 259 companies and 1,363,614 shareholders. This is an average of 5,264 shareholders for each of these 259 corporations.

If the remaining 316,650 corporations have an average of fifty shareholders each (which is low), they would have 15,832,500 shareholders, to which, adding as above 259

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

corporations with 1,363,614 shareholders, we have a total of 316,909 corporations with 17,196,114 shareholders.

Of course there are many persons who own stock in more than one corporation, but, making allowance for this duplication and for the large number of bondholders who own no stocks, it seems reasonable to guess that there are at least 4,000,000 separate investors in the securities of American corporations who are directly affected by an advance or decline in the market value of their securities.

The number who are directly interested in the price of cotton or grain is obviously much larger; it includes every farmer who produces either of these commodities and every merchant who handles them or the things into which they are manufactured.

These two classes embrace nearly all the agricultural owners, tenants, and mercantile proprietors in the United States. According to the last census, there were 6,361,502 "farm operators" in the country, and there are probably at least 750,000 merchants, large and small, who deal in cotton or grain or some of their textile or food derivatives, such as print cloths, ginghams, sheetings, shirtings, denims, duck, guncotton, absorbent cotton and bandages, flour, corn meal, oatmeal, bread, crackers, and whisky (either rye or Bourbon).

Taken altogether, it is probable that about 7,000,000 persons are directly interested in the fluctuations of the great commodity markets; and the number indirectly interested, of course, includes the whole community.

In the light of these figures it seems reasonable to assume that the American public directly affected by the changes in value registered on our exchanges includes about 11,000,000 people. This estimate makes no allowance for the millions in Europe who are also interested more or less definitely in the course of values on this side the Atlantic.

But whether we double or halve this estimate is unimportant. It is plain that the "market" includes a multitude that is almost inconceivably large. This is not to say that they are all "speculators" in the sense in which that word is generally understood. Most of them buy and sell the things that are dealt in on the exchanges in the regular course of their business as producers or distributers. By far the largest portion of this business is done away from the exchanges and without reference to their rules. The planter who hauls his four or five bales of cotton into Waxahachie, Texas, and sells them on the street to a buyer for the Wamsutta Mills at New Bedford, Massachusetts, makes a transaction of which the New York Cotton Exchange has no cognizance. The same statement applies when the mills sell the cloth produced from the cotton to a jobber in Seattle. The farmer who sells his wheat in South Dakota to the representative of an Italian flour miller does not use the machinery of the Board of Trade at all.

All these transactions are nevertheless made at prices which are adjusted with reference to those of cotton or grain as they are momentarily recorded in New York and Chicago.

The same thing is true of the purchase and sale of securities. Our National wealth is now estimated at two hundred billion dollars. Of this at least one-half is in stocks and bonds. In March, 1914, the aggregate par value of the securities listed on the New York Stock Exchange was $25,875,024,600, and their market value probably not over $20,000,000,000.

Most of those listed are but rarely traded in. Out of a total of 316,909 corporations in the United States, there were only 222 whose shares changed hands on the New York Stock Exchange during the year 1913. In that year 86,023,458 shares of stock in these 222 companies were bought and sold on the Exchange, but 57 per cent of this entire trade was in the shares of the United States Steel Corporation, the Reading Railroad Company, the Amalgamated Copper Company, the American Can Company, and the Union Pacific Railroad Company.

Kuhn, Loeb & Co. recently sold $65,000,000 bonds for the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, and J. P. Morgan & Co. $100,000,000 for the New York Central, without resorting to the Stock Exchange; but both of these transactions would certainly have been impossible while the Stock Exchange was closed, and their success was in a great measure due to the buoyant tone that prevailed on the Exchange until just prior to the Lusitania disaster.

Of the entire commerce in stocks, grain, and cotton that is generated by the Nation and in which probably ten or fifteen million people here and in Europe are actively engaged, probably less than five per cent is conducted on the exchanges, and yet all the business of the country is attuned to the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tone of these exchanges and reflects the confidence or doubt of the collective public mind to which they give expression.

Some there are who maintain that the exchanges should not be allowed to exercise this preponderant influence upon commerce, but there seems to be no way to prevent it. The experience of last autumn showed that they were indispensable. For nearly four months the cotton and stock exchanges were closed. The result was that nearly all business in cotton and securities was completely blocked. The grain exchanges remained open and the largest wheat crop ever produced was marketed with extraordinary rapidity.

Whatever the theorists may say, the exchanges are here to stay and may be studied as a permanent part of society's economic organization.

Originally the market-place, of which the exchange is an evolution, came into being because it was physically necessary that men should meet in order to trade; but when electricity obliterated distance, personal attendance at the market ceased to be essential, and the sway of the influences there expressed and recorded came to be felt over an incalculably wide area and by a multitude of men and women whose interest in the course of prices is casual or remote. The conservative investor whose securities are not among those quoted on the exchange is cheered when he reads that the stock market is strong and higher, and the small country merchant is encouraged by reports that cotton or grain has advanced. The confidence that they feel is contagious; it extends to their families and employees, and finally pervades the whole Nation.

One is almost inclined to agree with President Wilson that hard times and good times, high prices and low prices, are entirely a matter of psychology and sentiment as one watches the reactions that are provoked by the daily record of the great exchanges, and considers that the quotations there established may plunge the Nation into gloom or lift it into an ecstasy of optimism.

That the psychological factor is extremely important in hastening or retarding the sequence of economic cause and effect every student of the subject will admit; but the genesis and direction of the psychological force which finds expression in the markets are mysteries that are but poorly understood even by the initiated.

The market to-day is essentially a "crowd" the members of which, though physically separated, are in close mental contact by virtue of the newspapers and electricity.

Gustave Le Bon in his book upon "The Crowd" says:

> The most striking peculiarity presented by a psychological crowd is the following: Whoever be the individuals that compose it, however like or unlike be their mode of life, their occupations, their character, or their intelligence, the fact that they have been transformed into a crowd puts them in possession of a sort of collective mind which makes them feel, think, and act in a manner quite different from that in which each individual of them would feel, think, and act were he in a state of isolation. There are certain ideas and feelings which do not come into being or do not transform themselves into acts except in the case of individuals forming a crowd. The psychological crowd is a provisional being formed of heterogeneous elements which for a moment are combined exactly as the cells which constitute a living body form by their reunion a new being which displays characteristics very different from those possessed by each of the cells singly. What really takes place is a combination followed by the creation of new characteristics, just as in chemistry certain elements, when brought into contact—bases and acids, for example—combine to form a new body possessing properties quite different from those of the bodies that have served to form it. . . . It is for these reasons that juries are seen to deliver verdicts of which each individual juror would disapprove, that parliamentary assemblies adopt laws and measures of which each of their members would disapprove in his own person. Taken separately, the men of the Convention were enlightened citizens of peaceful habits. United in a crowd, they did not hesitate to give their adhesion to the most savage proposals, to guillotine individuals most clearly innocent, and, contrary to their interests, to renounce their inviolability and to decimate themselves.

From these generalizations Le Bon proceeds to point out some of the chief characteristics of the crowd. He names first "suggestibility," by which he explains the "rapid turning of the sentiments of a crowd in a definite direction," and, second, "a demand for a leader whose will becomes the nucleus around which the opinions of the crowd are grouped and attain identity."

He remarks incidentally that crowds most frequently turn upon their leaders and destroy them. But in the light of his observations we are able to understand somewhat less imperfectly the processes of "the market"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and the influence that it exercises upon the life of the world to-day.

Its function is to *interpret* the significance of economic phenomena.

The poetic student of mankind who said,

> "How few think justly of the thinking few;
> How many never think, who think they do,"

expressed a doubt of the mental accuracy and energy of the average man that is not much lessened by the progress of education.

Most men say frankly that they are unable to solve the complex commercial and financial problems of to-day. They seek for and rely upon expert knowledge to help them.

Should American stocks go up because we import gold, or decline because we export it? Who knows? The effect has been reversed in both cases within the past six months.

Should war cause cotton to decline? It was generally so believed until some one discovered that the use of guncotton is enormously increased by war, and now it is argued that a continuation of the war means higher cotton.

War itself was generally considered destructive of all values until a few months ago, but the students of economic history were soon able to prove that the reverse has been the case in the past, and now, largely because of their interpretation of the record, it is believed that war means prosperity, for the United States at least.

Facing such questions as these and many others to which intelligent reply is exceedingly difficult, the public wait for the answer that the barometer of the market makes as it records the transactions of the few courageous speculators who have the courage to interpret for themselves the meaning of events.

This leadership is most often anonymously exercised, but as the market moves people assume that it is impelled by some superior intelligence. If the interpretation suggested by the course of prices is plausible and appeals to the imagination when the public is susceptible to suggestion, a great movement may be started that will involve and affect many things that have no apparent relationship to the initial situation.

Such a movement, though always the result of some initiative in its earlier stages, may become spontaneous in its larger scope, or it may be fostered by an aggressive propaganda inspired by political or financial self-interest. In the latter case, the leadership that assumes the responsibility for the interpretation by which the minds and imagination of the susceptible crowd are affected must be one that can give a plausible reason for its conclusions.

The day is past when the control of prices by brute financial force or manipulative mystery can create an illusion of panic or prosperity.

The law now aims to prevent, and popular sentiment will not tolerate, any such attempt at the compulsion of public opinion.

It may therefore be truthfully said that in the market-place the rule of reason is supplanting the rule of force. The extraordinary demand for economic literature to-day is probably one result of this change.

The increased influence of the college professor, and especially the professor of economics, is another evidence of the same tendency.

More and more men are coming to ask "why?" and though they may not be able to understand the relation of cause and effect as it is explained to them, the effort to do so quickens their intelligence and makes them at least more independent members of the crowd whose contagion none of us can entirely resist.

Our very existence presupposes speculation. Against its manifest uncertainties we endeavor to protect ourselves and our families by life insurance, which is but a scientific speculation based upon the law of average.

In the mortality tables the actuary finds a record of human experience that enables him safely to forecast the future; but life insurance was almost entirely unknown two centuries ago, and the world was thousands of years old before men realized that the risk of death was calculable.

Through the mechanism of the great exchanges and the study that is now being given to the functions that they perform, the influence that they exert, and the reactions that they record, it is not at all impossible that we may learn that the apparently complex risks of business are governed by laws quite as immutable as those which the mortality tables disclose. Then we may be able to protect ourselves against them.

In the meantime comparative safety is to be found by preserving the psychological detachment that is essential to independent judgment. For those who become the victims of their own enthusiasm or the enthusiasm of others the path of speculation leads but to the grave of poverty.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW BOOKS

A GREAT VIOLINIST IN THE TRENCHES[1]

When Mr. Fritz Kreisler appeared in Carnegie Hall, New York, at his first concert last winter, he was encircled by a great audience which rose tier on tier and greeted him with a long-continued welcome—an expression of the universal appreciation of his genius as a violinist and of gratitude that the war had spared a man who ought never to have been sent to the front.

Mr. Kreisler and his wife were in Switzerland on the 31st day of July, when the Third Austrian Army Corps, to which his regiment belonged, received an order for mobilization. He had resigned his commission two years before; but he immediately left Switzerland and reported for duty. Early in November he was injured in the leg and was declared by a commission of army surgeons and superior officers an invalid and physically unfit for further service. Into the brief four weeks at the front the great violinist had crowded many experiences, and these experiences he describes with charming modesty and simplicity in a little volume the literary quality of which is quite worthy the artist who has delighted the whole continent with his masterly playing of the violin. There is very little of the horror of war in this book, although there are some frank descriptions of the privations and sufferings to which the Austrian troops were exposed and some vivid pictures of the havoc wrought by death in their columns. The slender volume describes the rapid transition from peace to war:

We reached Vienna on August 1. A startling change had come over the city since I had left it only a few weeks before. Feverish activity everywhere prevailed. Reservists streamed in by thousands from all parts of the country to report at headquarters. Autos filled with officers whizzed past. Dense crowds surged up and down the streets. Bulletins and extra editions of newspapers passed from hand to hand. Immediately it was evident what a great leveler war is. Differences in rank and social distinctions had practically ceased. All barriers seemed to have fallen; everybody addressed everybody else.

While coming from the station I saw two young reservists, to all appearances brothers, as they hurried to the barracks, carrying their small belongings in a valise. Along with them walked a little old lady crying, presumably their mother. They passed a general in full uniform. Up went their hands to their caps in military salute, whereupon the old general threw his arms wide open and embraced them both, saying: "Go on, my boys, do your duty bravely and stand firm for your Emperor and your country. God willing, you will come back to your old mother." The old lady smiled through her tears. A shout went up, and the crowds surrounding the general cheered him. Long after I had left I could hear them shouting.

A few streets farther on I saw in an open café a young couple, a reservist in field uniform and a young girl, his bride or sweetheart. They sat here, hands linked, utterly oblivious of their surroundings and of the world at large. When somebody in the crowd espied them, a great shout went up, the public rushing to the table and surrounding them, then breaking into applause and waving hats and handkerchiefs. At first the young couple seemed to be utterly taken aback, and only slowly did they realize that the ovation was meant for them. They seemed confused, the young girl blushing and hiding her face in her hands, the young man rising to his feet, saluting and bowing. More cheers and applause. He opened his mouth as if wanting to speak. There was a sudden silence. He was vainly struggling for expression, but then his face lit up as if by inspiration. Standing erect, hand at his cap, in a pose of military salute, he intoned the Austrian national hymn. In a second every head in that throng was bared. All traffic suddenly stopped, passengers as well as conductors of the cars joining in the anthem. The neighboring windows soon filled with people, and soon it was a chorus of a thousand voices. The volume of tone and the intensity of feeling seemed to raise the inspiring anthem to the uttermost heights of sublime majesty. We were then on our way to the station, and long afterwards we could hear the singing, swelling like a human organ.

Madame Kreisler volunteered her services as a Red Cross nurse in order to be near the front with her husband. When she learned later that no nurse was allowed to go farther than the large troop hospitals, which were far in the rear of actual operations, she decided to remain in Vienna nursing in the barracks. The regiment immediately started for the front, traveling via Budapest to Galicia, and left the train at a station south of Lemberg. Then began the severe test of continuous rapid marching. At the close of the first

[1] Four Weeks in the Trenches. By Fritz Kreisler. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

day Mr. Kreisler gives this delightful description of night in the woods:

Night had fallen when we reached a small monastery in the midst of a forest, where the peaceful surroundings and the monastic life, entirely untouched by the war fever, seemed strange indeed. Camp was established, tents erected, fires were lighted, and coffee made. Soon a life of bustling activity sprang up in the wilderness in the midst of the forest which only a few hours before had been deserted. It made a weird and impressive picture in the wonderful starlight night, these soldiers sitting around the camp-fires softly singing in chorus; the fantastic outlines of the monastery half hidden in the woods; the dark figures of the monks moving silently back and forth amongst the shadows of the trees as they brought refreshments to the troops; the red glow of the camp-fires illuminating the eager and enthusiastic faces of the young officers grouped around the colonel; the snorting and stamping of the horses near by; an occasional melodic outcry of a sentinel out in the night; all these things merging into an unforgetable scene of great romanticism and beauty. That night I lay for a long while stretched near the smoldering ashes of the camp-fire, with my cape as a blanket, in a state of lassitude and somnolence, my soul filled with exaltation and happiness over the beauty around me.

While the trenches in France and Flanders were extensive and elaborate, with underground workings and wing connections, those in Galicia were shallow and hastily made, and the Austrian troops thought themselves fortunate if they could secure enough straw to cover the bottom. Mr. Kreisler's regiment had hardly secured its position when an aeroplane appeared on the horizon and gave the invisible battery accurate measurements for the shelling of the Austrian position. Human nerves so soon get accustomed to the most unusual conditions that the violinist noticed a number of men sleeping in the trenches in spite of the roaring of the cannon and the whizzing shrapnel over their heads. He also made a discovery which turned out to be of practical use and is a remarkable instance of the fact that an artist may put a trained ear in the service of his country:

I, too, soon got accustomed to the deadly missiles—in fact, I had already started to make observation of their peculiarities. My ear, accustomed to differentiate sounds of all kinds, had some time ago, while we still advanced, noted a remarkable discrepancy in the peculiar whine produced by the different shells in their rapid flight through the air as they passed over our heads, some sounding shrill, with a rising endency, and the others rather dull, with a falling cadence. A short observation revealed the fact that the passing of a dull-sounding shell was invariably preceded by a flash from one of our own cannon in the rear of the hill, which conclusively proved it to be an Austrian shell. It must be understood that as we were advancing between the positions of the Austrian and Russian artillery, both kinds of shells were passing over our heads. As we advanced the difference between shrill and dull shell grew less and less perceptible, until I could hardly tell them apart. Upon nearing the hill the difference increased again more and more until on the hill itself it was very marked. After our trench was finished I crawled to the top of the hill until I could make out the flash of the Russian guns on the opposite heights, and by timing flash and actual passing of the shell found, to my astonishment, that now the Russian missiles had become dull, while, on the other hand, the shrill shell was invariably heralded by a flash from one of our guns, now far in the rear. What had happened was this: Every shell describes in its course a parabolic line, with the first half of the curve ascending and the second one descending. Apparently in the first half of the curve, that is, its course while ascending, the shell produced a dull whine accompanied by a falling cadence, which changes to a rising shrill as soon as the acme has been reached and the curve points downward again. The acme for both kinds of shells naturally was exactly the half distance between the Russian and Austrian artillery, and this was the point where I had noticed that the difference was the least marked. A few days later, in talking over my observations with an artillery officer, I was told the fact was known that the shells sounded different going up than when coming down, but this knowledge was not used for practical purposes. When I told him that I could actually determine by the sound the exact place where a shell coming from the opposing batteries was reaching its acme, he thought that this would be of great value in a case where the position of the opposing battery was hidden and thus could be located. He apparently spoke to his commander about me, for a few days later I was sent on a reconnoiteing tour, with the object of marking on the map the exact spot where I thought the hostile shells were reaching their acme, and it was later reported to me that I had succeeded in giving to our batteries the almost exact range of the Russian guns. I have gone into this matter at some length because it is the only instance where my musical ear was of value during my service.

When such great battles are fought, individual death and sorrow are almost swallowed up in the general calamity; but Mr. Kreisler's description of the death of the son

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the colonel of his regiment arrests our attention for a moment and brings the individual misery of the colossal conflict home to the imagination:

Suddenly I saw the face of the colonel riding next to me light up with excitement as a wounded man was borne past. He addressed a few words to the stretcher-bearers, and then turned to me, saying: "The regiment of my son is fighting on the hill. It is one of their men they have brought by." He urged us on again, and it seemed to me as if I noticed—or was it my imagination?—a new note of appeal in his face. Suddenly another stretcher was brought past. The colonel at my side jumped from his horse, crying out, "My boy!" and a feeble voice answered, "Father." We all stopped as if a command had been given, to look at the young officer who lay on the stretcher, his eyes all aglow with enthusiasm and joy, unmindful of his own wound, as he cried out, "Father, how splendid that the relief should just come from you! Go on. We held out splendidly. All we need is ammunition and a little moral support. Go on, don't stop for me; I am all right." The old colonel stood like a statue of bronze. His face had become suddenly ashen gray. He looked at the doctor and tried to catch his expression. The doctor seemed grave. But the young man urged us on, saying, "Go on, go on; I'll be all right to-morrow."

The whole incident had not lasted more than five minutes, barely longer than it takes to write it. The colonel mounted his horse, sternly commanding us to march forward, but the light had died out of his eyes.

Books about the war have already attained the dimensions of a good-sized library. Many of them depend for their interest entirely on passing conditions already out of date. A few books—largely, it may be suspected, personal narratives—will survive; and this slender volume is likely to find its place among them.

Brocklebank Riddle (The). By Herbert Wales. The Century Company, New York. $1.30.

A well-told, strange story of a man who after being cremated appears a few days later in his business office and takes up his usual course of life with a difference. It is only fair to warn the reader who dislikes to have mystery stories solved by other than natural methods that theosophy and soul-transference are involved, and that there is a remote reflection of the Hyde-Jekyll motive. Even so the story grasps the attention with unusual strength.

Merry-Andrew. By Keble Howard. The John Lane Company, New York. $1.35.

An agreeable story of a young Englishman, fresh from the university, unexpectedly thrown on his own resources. This "Merry-Andrew," as his nickname indicates, is good-natured, and, green as he is to London's ways, he gets a hold upon journalism and literature after a troublous time in school-teaching. The author "knows the ropes" and evidently writes from experience. The novel is pleasant reading, if not of great weight.

Play in Education. By Joseph Lee. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.

A valuable book for parents, educators, and municipal authorities. Its author, long a member of the Boston School Committee, stresses especially the importance of play as a preparation for the serious business of adult life. Hence he insists upon something which too many people are prone to forget—namely, that play is an absolute necessity in the proper development of all children, and that every facility should be given for the child to play spontaneously, vigorously, and freely. Occasionally, to be sure, Mr. Lee's enthusiastic advocacy of full vent for the play instinct leads to indiscreet suggestions, as in his indorsement of the dangerous juvenile habit of playing with fire. And, particularly at the present time, not every one will feel as he does with respect to the desirability of cultivating the instinct to fight. But his book as a whole is so sane, so informing, and so practically helpful that it may be cordially recommended to all concerned in the upbringing of children. Students of the physiology and psychology of play will also find it a useful addition to their libraries, for it presents in convenient form the results of the best scientific studies in this important field.

Fight for Peace (The): An Aggressive Campaign for American Churches. By Sidney L. Gulick, D.D. The Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. 50c.

This book contains some excellent suggestions to churches and some valuable information respecting the relations between the United States and the Far East. We do not, however, agree with its underlying affirmation that "the next great forward step for the Christian world is the Crusade for Peace." We think the crusade of the churches should be for justice. When the world has secured justice, peace will follow.

Limitations of Science (The). By Louis Trenchard More (Ph.D.). Henry Holt & Co., New York. $1.50.

In this interesting if somewhat repetitious volume Professor More vigorously criticises sundry scientific hypotheses, particularly those which aim at explaining the nature of the universe. His point of view is tersely expressed in the statement that "we cannot attain any

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

knowledge of things themselves, but only of their attributes as they affect our senses." It is enough to formulate general laws—such as the law of gravitation—without attempting to ascertain the causes of these laws. This, he insists, is quite outside the province of science, because it involves guesswork, and guesswork is not scientific.

La Belgique en Terre d'Asile. By Henry Carton de Wiart. Bloud et Gay, Paris.

The Minister of Justice in the Belgian Cabinet has published a small volume recounting certain recent events in Belgium—doubtless the beginning of a larger work to cover the whole period of the war—which should be of use as a volume of reference. The book has been written in excellent style, and thus appeals both because of manner and because of matter. It deserves translation.

University of Chicago Sermons. By Members of the University Faculty. Edited by Theodore Gerald Soares. University of Chicago Press, Chicago. $1.50.

These sermons are intelligent without being academic, broad without being vague, forceful without being sensational. They deal with the sins and mistakes of modern life, and inspire the higher aspirations and more unselfish service in the work of to-day. Their individual and social messages will appeal to the modern mind, and will furnish inspiration and help especially to young ministers.

Writing an Advertisement. By S. Roland Hall. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.

Mr. Hall has done for the writer of advertising what the press agent has done for the actor: he has stripped him of all glamour and left reality to speak for itself. "Early in the days of modern advertising," he relates here, "the writer of advertisements was a rather unique personage. He was surrounded with some mystery, too much halo." Then the author goes on to show the practical development of the men who "sell through publicity." Mr. Hall is best known as the author of four large volumes on the subject of advertising which were used as text-books by a correspondence school. His present volume contains much valuable information. He writes interestingly of the difference between mere clever advertising and advertising that creates response. The seventeen chapters treat many subjects in the field of commercial literature. The author emphasizes the importance of "copy," and tells of the studies made by successful advertising men of the uses of products, of points of view, of trade conditions, of points of contact, of the appeal of illustrations, and of the power of words. "Some are inclined to say, 'Copy is a mere detail,'" he writes. "Copy never was, never will be a mere detail. Too few people are able to write it."

Reconstruction of the Church (The). By Paul Moore Strayer. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.

A strenuous and successful church leader here sends out a stirring summons to the churches. The daily life and practices of their members must be aligned with the principles of Christ. Then, if the Church would teach no half-way religion, it must teach men to be religious in all their dealings, social, political, industrial. We are then pointed to New England's "decadent villages and degenerate country settlements," where the Church has failed to hold its own, and to the swarming city crowds who ignore the churches as having nothing at all for them. Wanted—a militant church with a programme.

To this the latter half of the volume is given, how to reclothe "the eternal spiritual message of the Church to meet the demands of this new industrial age." Here this experienced strategist gives practical counsels in the lines of needed reconstruction that have begun to be tried with success. The crux of a campaign for it is laid bare by the facts cited—Can the churches get together? Christian unity is said to be already "in the air." How long shall it stay there? All that is needed is the Christian spirit to take the steps pointed to by Dr. Strayer to end this disgrace.

THE READER'S VIEW

CIVIL SERVICE PENSIONS

I believe it was decided in an article in a late issue of The Outlook that a corporation has a soul. There is one body of men who are chosen to take care of (one can safely say) the most important business of the country—the men whose duty it is to appropriate "Uncle Sam's" money and decide how it shall be used. If they have developed a soul, why not distribute his money in a whole-souled way? According to Mr. Hyde's articles in the Chicago "Tribune," much enthusiasm and liberality is shown in giving pensions to old soldiers and their young widows who were born since the Civil War closed, and to the soldiers of the Spanish War—many of them having never seen a battlefield. Very good; but "Uncle Sam" should remember his family is large, and too much favor shown is not good policy. The pension bill for civil service employees has been long ignored. For years members of that service have been making a brave fight to be recognized; have used

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

time, money, and brains to arrange a satisfactory bill to put before Congress, and a number have appeared. In one bill they asked only for a loan to start a fund, and by deducting a certain per cent from their small salaries repay it, and in that way create their own pension fund. These men have been faithful workers for years: many of them work from ten to sixteen hours out of the twenty-four, with no holidays, no Sunday off—duty calls them every day of the year.

Here is a case that occurred quite recently which should go a long way as an object-lesson. A lighthouse-keeper was told that his services would be no longer required, as the light he was attending would be discontinued. He had been twenty years in the lighthouse service, had a wife and three small children depending upon him, and with poor health and anxiety for the future his mind became unbalanced. He was taken to a sanatorium, but made his escape, and ended it all, as far as he was concerned, by hanging himself. And what makes this case more sad is the fact that his father lost his life in the lighthouse service while trying to get to the mainland from his island light in a small boat, with his wife and one child with him. A storm came up, the boat capsized, and all were drowned. Four young boys were left to battle through this world by themselves as best they could. Did the Government offer any assistance? No; it was a good time to forget. The coast guards, or life-savers, are taken care of; but lighthouse-keepers are also "life savers," and many lives and much property have been saved by them, as statistics will show, and they are constantly exposed to danger and death.

In all departments of the civil service there are now many who are likely to be dropped from the service on account of old age. The great majority have spent the greater part of their lives as faithful workers for the Government, and will the next Congress ignore them again, with the excuse that there is no money, while millions are spent unnecessarily, and millions are given annually to those who do not need it?

Is it not a pertinent question to ask—Why are the civil service employees treated really so unfairly? M. B.

Chicago, Illinois.

SOUTHERN PROGRESSIVENESS

The Southern Educational Conference, which met this spring at Chattanooga, lacked something of the old enthusiasm so noticeable when Mr. Ogden was there, but it is still grappling with serious problems. One section was devoted to rural credits, and some of the ideas germinated there struck me as very significant.

One speaker was an Alabama banker, who prefaced his remarks by stating that he owned two square miles of ancestral lands. He had often been approached by prospective purchasers, but had never considered any proposition to part with these lands. He loves these lands and understands the feelings of those who have such possessions. Besides, there are many who have gathered up large holdings for speculative purposes. But, said he, there are those who have not—the men and women of the bread line. The two fundamental causes of the bread line he ascribed to absentee landlordism and land monopolization. The remedy he stated in a few words: Exempt the first forty acres from taxation and impose a progressive supertax on all holdings above forty acres so as to make land monopolization impossible.

While I did not agree with all the details of his plan, I approve its general principles. But the thing which pleased me most was to hear such progressive, not to say radical, ideas advanced by a business man of the old conservative South, a man who said that he would have scouted such ideas three years ago. The ideas are in harmony with those that have been taught in Southern universities for more than three years by the younger professors, who are gratified with this result of their teachings.

DAVID Y. THOMAS.

University of Arkansas,
Fayetteville, Arkansas.

"YOU-ALL" ONCE MORE

Although I have followed with interest the discussion in your columns of the use of "you-all," it was quite by chance that I came across the following in a box of clippings.

When I visited in Georgia twenty-five years ago, the use of the expression in the singular was usual, and I remember the comment it caused when used by my Southern roommate at the home of a Harvard professor.

"YOU-ALL

"I know no sweeter paradox
Than that which makes one person dual;
As when a pretty Southern woman
Gently murmurs, 'How are you-all?'

It matters not that I am single,
And singular, for I would woo all
And every she—if she would let me—
Who archly asked me, 'How are you-all?'

I travel miles to hear them say it;
Likewise I cheerfully eschew all
Other joys to hear my lady
Gurgle sweetly, 'How are you-all?'

The sweetness lies in the inflection;
Its tender kindness doth renew all
The springs of lost, old-time affection
That underlies that 'How are you-all?'

I know no sweeter paradox
Than that which makes one person dual;
As when a pretty Southern woman
Gently murmurs, 'How are you-all?'"

MARY REEVE DEXTER.

Dayton, Ohio.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BY THE WAY

"Hundreds of persons on the boardwalk stood watching the desperate efforts of the girl's escort to keep her afloat after she had called for help." One of these persons, John E. Stoner, a one-armed chair-pusher, risked his life by plunging into the surf, notwithstanding his disability, and bringing the girl to shore. This was at Atlantic City, New Jersey, and it is safe to say that a hero's medal is destined for that popular seaside resort.

New York City has 2,173 miles of paved streets; Chicago, 1,899; Philadelphia, 1,371. To keep these streets clean by manual labor would require, for New York City, an army of over 4,000 men; to keep them clean by sweeping-machines requires an improved machine which will sweep hardest in the dirty places where the broom now goes slowest and most ineffectually, and which will collect its own sweepings instead of piling them up to be blown about by the wind. Such machines, says "Good Roads," are in evolution now, but are not yet on the market.

"Customers usually like to finger goods that they are going to buy. Let them do it. It is far more important than is usually imagined." So a manufacturer of lead pencils recently declared in an address, applying his precept by saying that salesmen should keep samples of the various kinds of lead pencils ready sharpened for customers to try. Other salesmen might take the hint, avoid cross-questioning customers about what they desire, and "show them the goods" without too much parleying.

A record in loading a vessel was made at Pensacola, Florida, recently, a nautical journal states, when the British steamer Richmond arrived in port early in the morning and before noon 400,000 feet of lumber had been loaded aboard her and she was again proceeding to sea. Exactly five hours were required to do the work.

A threatened epidemic of strikes in London has, despatches say, been ingeniously prevented by the action of the street railways and other large corporations in refusing to reinstate strikers who are under forty-five years of age. Thus the average workman is given the alternative of being patriotically contented in his job or of joining the army for lack of other employment. Nevertheless wages have been rising because of the shortage of workers.

The "Trimmed Lamp," of Chicago, doesn't like Billy Sunday, but it pays this tribute to him, apropos of the resignation of two discouraged Chicago clergymen: "To those who care for good taste even in religion, Billy Sunday is abomination. But he who could face the sun in his eyes with two gone and the bags full has no yellow in him, even before the devil. We don't like you, William, but we like quitters less."

Walter Camp's dictum, "A golfer who plays steadily under eighty should be classed as a professional, for he devotes too much time to the game to call it a pastime," is worthy to be classed with Herbert Spencer's remark to the man who beat him at billiards, "Sir, a proper proficiency in this game is commendable, but such skill as you show argues a misspent youth."

"The clicking of the typewriter is heard everywhere behind the fighting lines, and keeps all the departments in the field in touch with each other as no form of clerical work with the pen could possibly have done." So writes the London correspondent of "Office Appliances," and adds: "The British Government is fast becoming the largest customer for typewriters in the world."

The motor development of the child from the age of seven to thirteen, says Philip Davis in his book "Street-Land," is far greater than its mental development. The thirst for adventure, for discovery, for taking chances, is the strongest characteristic of this age. The greater the risk, the more it satisfies certain children's unconscious calls for acts of daring and courage. In illustration, Mr. Davis tells of discovering two boys swinging from telephone wires on which they had climbed. "You may be electrocuted," he warned them. "'That's what we want,' one of them answered grandly." Cooperation on the part of teachers, parents, police, and public service companies, the author says, will to some extent solve the social problem presented by this spirit of recklessness among young children.

Signor Campanini, the impresario, believes that "art knows no country." In announcing his plans for the coming opera season in Chicago, he says: "While I hope that Italy's participation in the war will hasten the end of hostilities, and while I am an Italian before everything, I shall continue to give the best work of the greatest composers, irrespective of their nationality or the place of their birth."

"Life" began its fresh air work for children in 1887, and up to this year it has provided 36,769 summer vacations for little New Yorkers, for whom it has spent in this way more than $150,000. In making an appeal for contributions to carry on the work this season it says that $5.71 provides a full two weeks' vacation for a child, including transportation to the real country and food for hungry little guests "many of whom have arrears of short rations to make up."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED